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IN THIS ISSUE

A. L. INGLESBY COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Geographical boundaries are important in defining who we are. Human beings occupy the planet Earth with its natural land masses of continents, subcontinents, and islands. But we also live in nations, states, counties, cities, and towns. While we are residents of the North American continent, most readers of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* are also citizens of one of twenty-nine counties that are found within the state of Utah—one of the fifty states that constitute the United States of America. Our birthplaces are Salt Lake City, Grouse Creek, Torrey, Taylorsville, Magna, Monticello, and hundreds of other locales that are defined by political and geographical boundaries. How such political boundaries are formed and aspects of the human experience within defined geographical boundaries are the historical processes examined in this issue.

Our first article, reveals the political intrigues, machinations, and negotiations that occurred during the last half of the nineteenth century leaving Utah with its present boundaries. Cut, split, and severed during six boundary-altering procedures, the Utah Territory was reduced in size from the enormous 225,000-square-mile territory of 1850 to its present size of 85,000 square miles. These reductions occurred on all but Utah's southern boundary as parts of present-day Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, and Colorado were once a part of the Utah Territory. This boundary setting process reveals much about the complexities of creating and organizing territories in nineteenth century America.

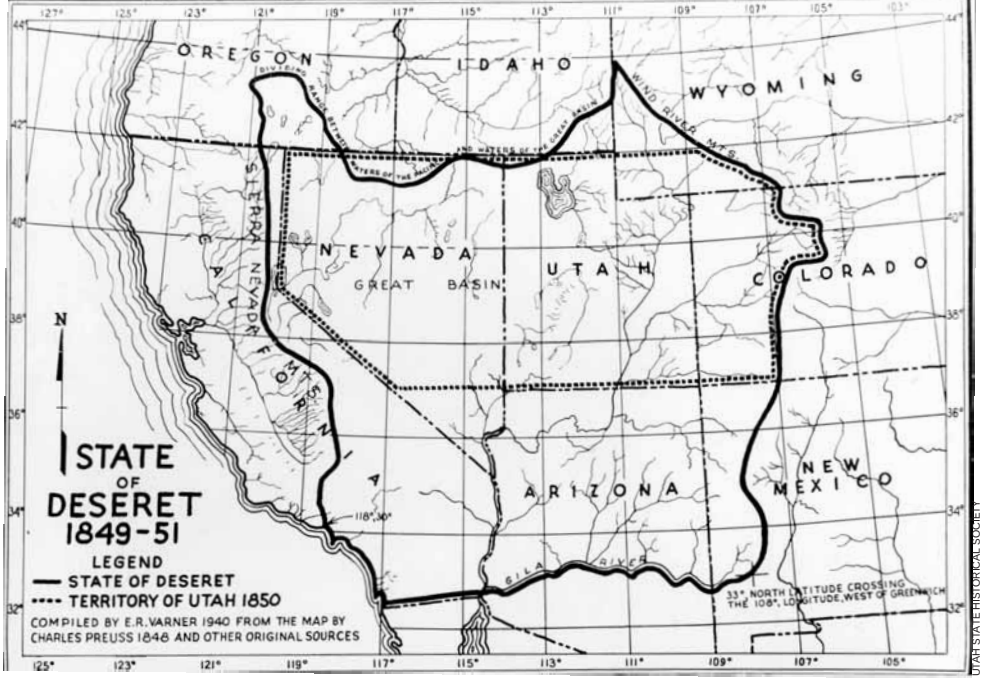
The Mormon endeavor to establish and foster a religious identity within the boundaries of what is now Utah is well known. However, not as well known are the attempts by other religious groups to build and maintain their institutions. The struggle to establish Roman Catholicism in sparsely settled southeastern Utah, discussed in our second article, is an inspiring story of dedication and commitment that should be remembered.

GROUSE CREEK CULTRUAL SURVEY COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Our third article takes us from southeastern Utah to Grouse Creek in the northwest corner of the state for a look at the community experience of that Mormon agricultural area. A treasure of oral histories collected twenty-five to thirty years ago provide the foundation for this article, allowing a rich story of a cherished, but lost, community life to unfold. The article also examines the issues of memory and reality—basic questions students of the past must address.

As we conclude this 2003 spring issue, we go back to another spring seventy-nine years ago to climb aboard a horse-drawn mail wagon to ride with a father and his two small sons on the adventure of a lifetime. Our nostalgic trip begins in the Wayne County town of Torrey and takes us east past towering Chimney Rock and on to Fruita, now headquarters for Capitol Reef National Park. Here we cross the Fremont River and head south along Capitol Reef before turning eastward through a narrow slot between the high cliffs of Capitol Gorge and journey on to the town of Notom before descending the dangerous Blue Dugway to reach our destination at Caineville. This is a trip you will not soon forget.

***OPPOSITE:** Merin Smith's orchard at the base of the cliffs in Capitol Reef National Park, Fruita, Utah. **ABOVE:** The Tanner house and store outbuilding, Grouse Creek, Utah.*
***ON THE COVER:** W. C. Betteridge and Sons Grouse Creek Store with Uncle Ted (the "Bachelor Cowboy") sitting on the counter, ca. 1913. Verna Richardson Collection, Utah State Historical Society.*



"Like Splitting a Man Up His Backbone": The Territorial Dismemberment of Utah, 1850-1896

By WILLIAM P. MACKINNON

Although the process by which the congressional Compromise of 1850 swept aside the Provisional State of Deseret and replaced it with Utah Territory has been well-explored, the subject of Utah's post-1850 boundaries and how they changed remains poorly understood.[1] This article examines in comprehensive but not exhaustive fashion the chain of events by which an enormous, 225,000-square-mile Utah Territory lost six regions on her western, northern, and eastern frontiers to

Map of the proposed State of Deseret and Original Boundaries of Utah Territory 1849-51.

William P. MacKinnon is an independent historian from Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. His articles, essays, and book reviews on the American West and Utah's territorial period have appeared in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and more than twenty-five other journals since 1963, the year in which he first joined the Utah State Historical Society. This article has evolved from exploratory papers presented at the 1995 Utah Governor's Conference on History and Heritage and the Mormon History Association's 2002 annual conference in Tucson. The author thanks Dr. Stanford J. Layton of Salt Lake City for his long encouragement of this article and historian Ardis E. Parshall of Orem for her research support.

[1] The most comprehensive monograph on Deseret and the Compromise of 1850 remains Dale L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), a reprint of Morgan's study which originally appeared in three 1940 issues of *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Two excellent articles on the subject are Glen M. Leonard, "Southwestern Boundaries and the Principles of Statemaking," *Western Historical Quarterly* 8 (January 1977): 39-53 and "The Mormon Boundary Question in the 1849-50 Statehood Debates," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 114-36. Among those few studies shedding light on the post-1850 changes to Utah's external boundaries is James B. Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (July 1955): 261-78. See also George F. Brightman, "The Boundaries of Utah," *Economic Geography* 16 (January 1940): 87-95.

become today's familiar, substantially more limited state of 85,000 square miles. Part of this story is a little known set of political dynamics that threatened to dismember Utah as a geo-political entity throughout much of her forty-five-year territorial period. The focus here will be on how and why this phenomenon happened, what Utah's leaders thought and did about it, and where Utah's boundary experiences fit into the context of nineteenth-century American state-making.

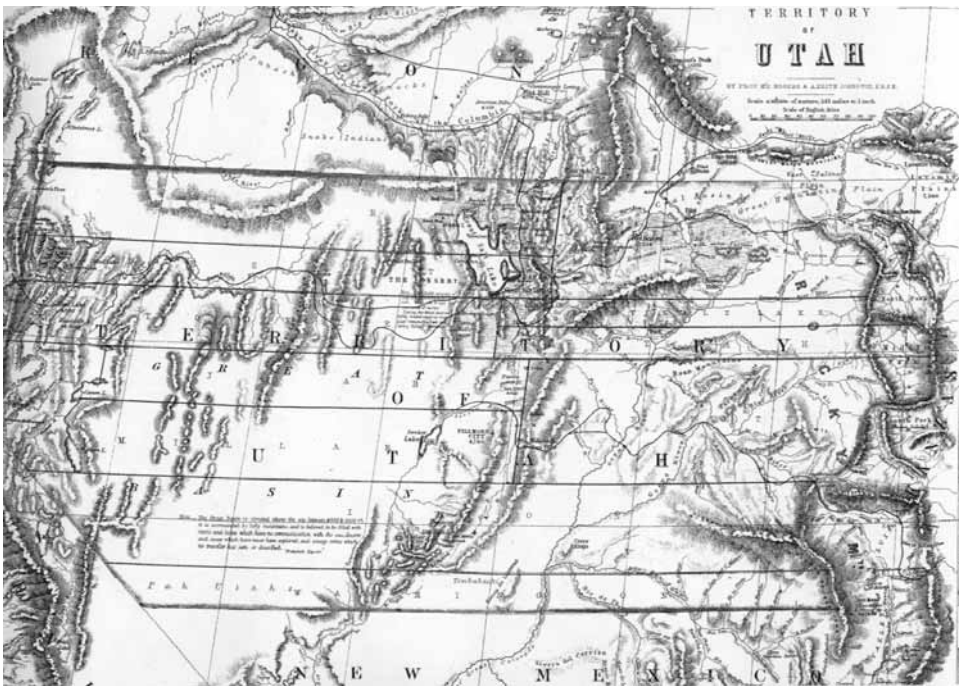
Not covered here is the closely-related story of how Utah's boundaries were surveyed and marked once established by Congress and of the bizarre situations that arose during the decades in which these borders remained unsurveyed. That too is a colorful subject needing attention, but one more technical and field-oriented than the very human tale of politics, prejudice, and economic motivation that follows. Left for another study, then, is an account of how Utah Territory's legislative assembly mistakenly established a county (Rio Virgin) in southeastern Nevada as well as of the longstanding northern ambiguity over whether the town of Franklin was in Utah or Idaho.[2]

The Utah Territory that emerged from the Compromise of 1850 was bounded by the crest of the Rockies on the east, the State of California on the west, the 42nd parallel of north latitude and Oregon Territory on the north, and the 37th parallel and New Mexico Territory on the south. It was an entity so large that several of its initial counties were more than six hundred miles wide, or about 20 percent of the width of the United States. Utah was remote, vast, and snow-bound to an extent that word of its creation on September 9,1850, did not reach the newly-appointed governor, Brigham Young, for more than four months. Although somewhat smaller than the 265,000 square miles Brigham Young had coveted in 1849 for the Provisional State of Deseret, the area encompassed by Utah's initial territorial borders was daunting to an extreme—if not unsustainable. Congress was skeptical to the point of providing in the legislation that established Utah a fateful provision "... that nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said Territory into two or more territories, in such manner, and at such times, as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said Territory to any other State or Territory of the United States."[3]

There were no changes in Utah's external boundaries until 1861, but the

[2] Any study of the process by which Utah's boundaries were periodically surveyed and marked with monuments must start with C. Albert White, *Initial Points of the Rectangular Survey System* (Westminster, Colorado: The Publishing House, 1996): 305-30. Among the most fascinating accounts of the multiple field expeditions that surveyed sections of Utah's external lines are two that focus on her mountainous eastern frontier: Lloyd M. Pierson, ed., "Rollin J. Reeves and the Boundary Between Utah and Colorado," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Spring 1998): 100-17; and Lucia McCreery, ed., "Surveying the Western Boundary of Wyoming: The Diary of William A. Richards, Summer 1874," *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal* 73 (Autumn 2001): 2-19.

[3] Albert L. Fisher, "Utah Boundaries: Sense or Nonsense?" *Encyclia, The Journal of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 56 (1979): 127-33. U.S. Statutes at Large 9: 453.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

An 1858 map depicting the original boundaries of Utah with the northern part of New Mexico Territory.

subject was debated frequently before the Civil War. During the 1850s three volatile issues arose with serious negative implications for preservation of Utah's territorial integrity throughout that decade and thereafter. First came the LDS church's public announcement in August 1852 of the doctrine of plural marriage, which unleashed a tsunami of rabid anti-Mormonism spilling into the national political scene, including the 1856 anti-polygamy platform plank of the new Republican Party.[4] Next, and accompanying the furor over polygamy, was a corrosive, decade-long deterioration in federal-Mormon relations fueled by conflicts over every possible area of interface—especially the quality and behavior of federally-appointed officers for Utah—that degenerated into the Utah War of 1857-1858.[5] Third, and immediately subsequent to the Utah War, was the discovery of fabulous gold and silver deposits at two sites remote from organized government—Cherry Creek in western Kansas Territory and the Comstock Lode in western Utah Territory.[6]

[4] Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question Enters National Politics," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (April 1957): 117-31 and Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question, Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 1-83.

[5] Richard D. Poll and William P. MacKinnon, "Causes of the Utah War Reconsidered," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 16-44; William P. MacKinnon, "125 Years of Conspiracy Theories: Origins of the Utah Expedition of 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1984): 212-30; and Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

[6] The literature about the Comstock Lode is voluminous. The latest study of the strike at Cherry Creek is Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

These were forces and events that by the end of the 1850s had all but destroyed national political support for Utah while inflaming long-standing anti-Mormon prejudices and stimulating calls for more local, Gentile-friendly government. With emotional perceptions of Utah Mormons and their leaders as immoral, un-American, disloyal, theocratic, and anti-mining there were repeated calls for Utah's mutilation if not obliteration.

In a sense the problem first arose during the winter of 1849-1850 with the congressional debates that subsequently evolved into the Compromise of 1850. At that time two petitions were submitted to Congress that had been stimulated by William B. Smith, younger brother of the late Joseph Smith, Jr. These petitions were so critical of the Salt Lake faction of the LDS church and its loyalty to the United States that they did serious damage to the cause of Mormon statehood and Brigham Young's geographical aspirations for governmental organization on a Deseret-like scale.[7]

Soon after Utah was organized in 1850 as a territory, early signs that the anti-Mormon cartographical knives were out surfaced in the west near California. They were fueled by the absence of any effective local government in Carson Valley, land hunger in California, and ambiguity over the precise location of the California-Utah border as well as by subsequent shock over the 1852 polygamy announcement. The result was non-Mormon advocacy for either annexation of western Utah by California or its organization as a separate territory. In 1852 the California legislature went so far as to enact a law establishing an entire county (Pautah) within the borders of western Utah, an extraordinary act of encroachment not repealed until 1859.[8] Surprisingly, Apostle Orson Hyde, whom Brigham Young later sent to Carson Valley to organize a county, build a Mormon colony, and monitor the California boundary issue, had also concluded that one large Utah was ungovernable. Privately Apostle Hyde considered the possibility of establishing western Utah's Ruby Valley as the locus of a new territory, a fantasy based on Hyde's assumption that such a move would result in LDS control of two substantial political entities rather than just Utah. Here was a kingdom-building vision to which the LDS leadership would return repeatedly during subsequent decades for both defensive and offensive purposes.[9]

That Apostle Hyde's views from Carson Valley stimulated if not influenced Brigham Young's thoughts about the shifting of territorial lines and

[7] William B. Smith's activities are described in Morgan, *The State of Deseret*, 72-3; the petitions of December 31, 1849 and March 14, 1850 with which Smith was involved are in the National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 48 (Records of the Department of the Interior) and RG 46 (Records of the U.S. Senate), respectively.

[8] Owen C. Coy, *California County Boundaries* (Berkeley: California Historical Survey Commission, 1923), 9. For a description of the cultural and political forces at work in western Utah and neighboring California during the early 1850s, see Juanita L. Brooks, "The Mormons in Carson Valley, Utah Territory," *Nevada Historical Quarterly* 8 (Spring 1965): 7-24.

[9] Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, October 2, 1855, Brigham Young Collection, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. The author thanks LDS-CHD for its courtesy and generosity in making the Brigham Young Collection available.

the entire congressional state-making process is apparent in Governor Young's 1855 letter to Apostle John Taylor, who was then in Manhattan supervising the launch of a newspaper called *The Mormon*. "…In regard to dividing Utah, it would be much better to admit her in the Union first, as they did California, with her boundary; and then if she saw proper let her divide herself. There is policy in favor of a small State on the western slope of the Continent to maintain as they say, in embryo the balance of power. But sparsely inhabited Territory, like Utah, should first be admitted." Brigham Young went on to reflect "If Oregon and other Territories can be admitted, Utah certainly has an equal right for her white population probably exceeds that of any other Territory in the Union."[10]

In 1856 inveterate schemer-politician Isaac Roop, an Ohioan transplanted to what would become Nevada via California, organized a provisional Territory of Nataqua in northwestern Utah Territory that failed of support among even California border locals experienced in such intrigues.[11]

Perhaps the most dramatic, colorful and obscure of the multiple pre-Civil War threats to Utah's territorial integrity was the one spawned by the 1853-54 congressional debates over what became the Kansas-Nebraska Act.[12] Embedded in these debates was a proposal to move Utah's eastern boundary substantially westward from the crest of the Rockies to the rim of the Great Basin—a move that would have reduced Utah's area by an estimated one-third.

The impetus in Congress for this change was the cumulative impact of several of the great emotional controversies involving Utah during its early territorial period: the uproar over polygamy, the flight of the so-called "runaway officials," and corrosive accusations of Mormon complicity in the 1853 Gunnison massacre. Surprisingly, perhaps the most influential factor

[10] Brigham Young to John Taylor, July 25, 1855, typescript in John Taylor Family Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. The author thanks Walter Jones, Head of Special Collections' Western Americana Division, for calling this letter to his attention. Brigham Young's 1855 thinking about how best for Congress to deal with the unwieldy size of large territories such as Utah—admit them as states and then permit them to sub-divide themselves if necessary—was also rooted in his surprising acceptance in 1849 of a bizarre, secret, and unsuccessful plan formulated by President Zachary Taylor by which the provisional states of California and Deseret would by-pass the territorial phase and would be organized as a single gigantic state with the understanding that in a few years it would automatically morph into separate states centered on the Pacific coast and Salt Lake Valley. See Frederick A. Culmer, "'General' John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 26 (1947): 321-48 and Edward Leo Lyman, "Larger than Texas, Proposals to Combine California and Mormon Deseret as One State," *C*alifornia History 80 (Spring 2001): 18-33 and 75.

[11] For the Nataqua affair see Guy Louis Rocha, "Nevada's Emergence in the American Great Basin: Territory and State," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly 38 (Winter 1995): 279, n. 31.

[12] This legislation—designed to organize politically vast sections of the Louisiana Purchase—was largely the work of Sen. Stephen A. Douglas, who saw it as an opportunity to inflict his concept of Popular Sovereignty on the American territorial process. Because it swept aside the sectional understandings about slavery in the territories embodied in the earlier Missouri Compromise of 1820, Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act unleashed forces and violence, especially in Kansas Territory, that accelerated the nation's slide toward disunion. For one of the more recent analyses of these dynamics, see Yonatan Eyal, "With His Eyes Open: Stephen A. Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska Disaster of 1854," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91 (Winter 1998): 175-217.

fueling the move to alter Utah's eastern frontier during the Kansas-Nebraska debates was the persistent lobbying efforts in Washington of a single, rough-hewn illiterate—national icon Jim Bridger, the country's most famous frontiersman other than Kit Carson. Bridger had been run out of Utah's Black's Fork district in 1853 by a large Mormon posse seeking to serve arrest warrants running to the sale of alcohol and munitions to Indians during Utah's Walker War.[13]

Dr. John M. Bernhisel, Utah's long-suffering but highly effective congressional delegate, first raised the alarm over Jim Bridger's anti-Mormon assertions and the related congressional consideration of a potential shift in Utah's eastern frontier through a February 13, 1854 letter to Brigham Young:

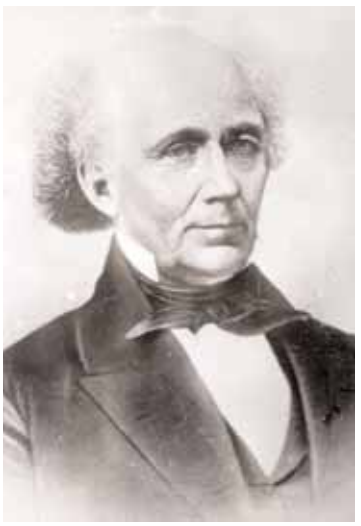
> On the 23rd ultimo [January] the same Committee [chaired by Senator Stephen A. Douglas] reported another bill, dividing Nebraska into two Territories, making the fortieth parallel of north latitude the boundary between them, and to my utter amazement, the eastern rim of the Great Basin the western boundary of these Territories, thus including within the limits about one third of the Territory of Utah….You will doubtless be greatly surprised at this sad and startling intelligence, if you can yet be surprised at anything that occurs in these last days.
>
> The bill is now under consideration in the Senate, and will doubtless pass that body by a decided majority. What its fate will be in the House, God only knows. I am making every exertion to prevent our boundaries from being disturbed….
>
> James Bridger arrived in Washington January 5th and is here still, telling marvelous stories about his being driven from his home in the mountains….These gross exaggerations and misrepresentations are the cause of the attempt to curtail our boundaries, so that he will be without [outside] the jurisdiction of Utah.[14]

On March 11, 1854, an obviously relieved Delegate Bernhisel reported to Governor Young that the Kansas-Nebraska Act was being passed without impact on Utah's borders.[15] Nonetheless, when Bernhisel's first alarming report reached Brigham Young, he promptly swung into action. In an April 29, 1854, letter to Senator Douglas, a long-standing Illinois ally of the Mormons and chairman of the senate committee on the territories, the governor took the offensive with an attack on Jim Bridger's character in classic Brigham Young style—a blunt frontal assault bolstered with a clutch of reputation damaging affidavits, an interesting tactic for a leader who so detested legalisms. Enveloping this mailed fist was a velvet glove designed for Senator Douglas. Nonetheless, it was in this letter that Brigham Young gently unveiled for Douglas the first hint of a Mormon threat that was to

[13] Jim Bridger's hasty departure from his trading post on Black's Fork of the Green River and his subsequent claims for compensation are well-known, but the impact of his efforts on Utah boundary matters is obscure. J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 248-57, and Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger, Island in the Wilderness* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 49-76.

[14] John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, February 13, 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. As a territorial delegate, Bernhisel sat in the U.S. House of Representatives and could speak but not vote.

[15] Ibid., March 11, 1854.



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John M. Bernhisel

be used repeatedly throughout the 1860s and 1870s in dealing with thrusts for territorial dismemberment—the prospect of spreading Mormon political influence in the wake of any border change. Because it provides a glimpse into Brigham Young's passion on this subject at this point in Utah's history as well as the tactics to be used in later decades, this is a letter worth studying:

> ... It is also rumored that one James Bridger, from Black's Fork of Green River, has become the oracle to Congress in all matters pertaining to Utah, not only civil & political, but even historical & geographical....
>
> From all I can as yet learn concerning the boundaries of the contemplated new Territories, (Nebraska & Kansas) I find that the Eastern boundary of Utah is moved from its [originally established] Organic line on the Summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Eastern rim of what is called the Great Basin. This may be a very wise, crafty, & politic, & just ~~movement~~ alteration of boundary, but I must candidly say that I do not so consider it, for numerous reasons which I presume you do, or should, know, hence I will waive stating them….
>
> In all frankness, friend Douglass [sic], I shall feel exceedingly obliged by the organization of the two proposed Territories, & with their proposed boundaries, for in Nebraska our population is even now the majority, & we had contemplated making several settlements there in a short time, & you see that we stand every chance for having *two* Territories in lieu of *one*.[16]

Having thus assailed Jim Bridger's reputation and gently given Senator Douglas pause to think about his own political behavior, Brigham Young turned on the same day to the task of sharing his views with Delegate Bernhisel in a bruising letter that quickly deteriorated into a rant against Utah's mountaineers and Washington's politicians. Here, in a private letter to his cautious territorial delegate, one sees Brigham Young with the bark on—a governor whose rhetoric and passion a respectful Bernhisel spent years trying to manage:

> Dear Brother,
> Yours of Feby 13th arrived on the 13th inst, ~~giving the first~~ filled with quite a variety of very interesting news. Concerning the last proposed western boundary for the Nebraska & Kansas, viz: the eastern rim of the Great Basin, it is very [illegible] that the nature of the country is such that ~~the~~ its inhabitants would be far better accommodated in their governmental affairs ~~to have~~ by leaving the middle boundary line on the summit of the Rocky Mountains as heretofore, and if one James Bridger must be the only inhabitant worthy of belief & patronage by Congress, that boundary would still be the

[16] Brigham Young to Stephen A. Douglas, April 29, 1854. The text of Gov. Young's retained copy—complete with indicated editorial changes (but without the Wright and Mosman affidavits)—is printed here as found in Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. The original letter, with accompanying affidavits, is in Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago Library.

> best, & then organize ~~a new~~ still another Territory designed directly for the benefit of the illustrious James Bridger, & as a reward for his highly patriotic services & speeches,... it would pass the bounds of the most visionary dreams of men of sense to imagine that a man of Bridger's appearance, ignorance, & folly, (to use no more plain, & strictly correct terms) could have any influence with the professed wise men of our nation, & if he has, it only goes to prove how many characters are at Washington who prefer *lies* to the *truth*, & what will you do about it? ... Please say to all who advocate such policy, ~~"Kiss my ass, damn you,"~~ that we cannot well prevent fools from exhibiting their folly & keep your pet Bridger there, if you wish to preserve him, for if the legal officers [of Utah] get hold of him, & just laws of ~~their~~ your own making are enforced he may be strung up between the heavens & the earth.[17]

In the wake of such controversies and with a still small but rapidly growing population, Utah's 1852 attempt to re-petition Congress for the establishment of a State of Deseret failed. When petitions for statehood were again forwarded to Washington during the summer of 1856, Senator Douglas advised against sending them to Congress on grounds that, in the midst of the national political conventions, submission alone would trigger fatal support for a move afoot to dismember Utah by repealing her organic act and distributing her territory to neighboring political entities.[18]

With year-end 1856 and what in retrospect was the approach of the Utah War, pressures to realign Utah's borders intensified, with perhaps the most high profile advocacy coming from Representative Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, the tenacious Republican legislator whose name would be attached five years later to the first federal anti-polygamy legislation. On February 23, 1857, in the closing days of the Pierce administration, Morrill crafted a long speech on Mormon affairs which ranged through an analysis of Utah's unusual legal system, the character of Brigham Young's theocracy, and the evils of polygamy as Morrill saw them. Under the heading "What Is To Be Done?" Morrill offered five congressional remedies, two of which had implications for Utah's territorial integrity: "We may circumscribe the boundaries of the Territory, and give the inhabitants much narrower limits ….We may cut up the Territory, and annex it to the various adjoining Territories." Although the timing of Morrill's speech was such that it stimulated no immediate congressional action, its text received national attention. Morrill's address served as a catalyst during the subsequent Buchanan and Lincoln administrations for those seeking a surgical metaphor for solution of the Mormon problem.[19]

[17] Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, April 29, 1854. For the delegate's spirited but respectful defense of his stewardship in Washington, see John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, July 14, 1854, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD.

[18] A description of the anti-Mormon political climate in Washington and Douglas's advice with respect to the statehood petition during the summer of 1856 appears in William I. Appleby to Brigham Young, June 30, 1856, *ibid.*, as well as in the subsequent, belated report to the Deseret constitutional convention by John Taylor and George A. Smith, *Deseret News*, January 20, 1858. The more graphic, vivid language of the latter document probably reflected the impact of the intervening events—the onset of the Utah War and Senator Douglas's betrayal.

[19] "Utah Territory and Its Laws—Polygamy and Its License," Speech of Hon. J.S. Morrill of Vermont, in the House of Representatives, February 23, 1857, *Appendix to Congressional Globe*, 34th Cong., 3d sess.

During the Utah War itself, a conflict in which Jim Bridger served as the army's chief guide, Brigham Young in effect created a partial political vacuum on Utah's western and eastern flanks with the defensive evacuation of the Mormon colonies in San Bernardino, Las Vegas, Carson Valley, Fort Bridger, and Fort Supply.[20] Into some of these areas flowed substantial Gentile populations, especially with the post-war mineral strikes at Cherry Creek (Denver) and the Comstock Lode (Virginia City).

Among the earliest casualties of the Utah War was the theretofore largely positive relationship between the LDS church and Senator Douglas. The cause of this rupture was a speech given by Douglas in Springfield, Illinois, on June 12, 1857, two weeks after the launch of the Utah Expedition and soon after his return from Washington. It was a strange speech—delivered in impromptu fashion at the invitation of a sitting grand jury—in which Douglas ranged through three of the most volatile subjects of the day: the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision, "bleeding" Kansas, and Utah affairs. When it came to Mormon matters, Douglas may have been stimulated by bitter inputs from recently-resigned Utah Associate Justice W. W. Drummond as well as by the sting of Republican efforts to portray Douglas's pet doctrine of Popular Sovereignty (local choice) as a de facto defense of polygamy in the territories. After reciting the then-current litany of accusations against Utah's Mormons—principally disloyalty and un-American backgrounds and tendencies—Senator Douglas advocated the repeal of Utah's organic act and therefore her territorial obliteration. For the remedy, Douglas used graphic surgical imagery: "When the authentic evidence shall arrive, if it shall establish the facts which are believed to exist, it will become the duty of Congress to apply the knife and cut out this loathsome disgusting ulcer. [Applause.] No temporizing policy—no half-way measure will then answer." With this political betrayal and provocative language, Douglas was immediately assigned to a place in the LDS pantheon of Utah War villains second only to Drummond's.[21]

(1856-57), 284-90. With the press of business at the close of the Pierce administration, Morrill was not permitted to deliver his address as floor remarks, although the House ordered it printed in such a way as to create this illusion. This somewhat cosmetic parliamentary arrangement seems to have galled LDS leaders as much as the content of Morrill's speech.

[20] For the creation and roll-up of these colonies in 1857, see Eugene E. Campbell, "Brigham Young's Outer Cordon—A Reappraisal," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 1973): 220-53. Glen M. Leonard argues that had these outposts been settled earlier, more populous, and more mining-friendly they might have contributed more effectively to the territorial viability of Utah's flanks during the late 1850s. Leonard, "The Mormon Boundary Question," 135-36.

[21] For the text of Douglas's speech and a long, acerbic Mormon rebuttal, see *Deseret News*, September 2, 1857. So volcanic were LDS church leaders' reactions to Douglas's speech that in January 1858 the Utah legislative assembly quoted from it in the midst of a petition to the president and Congress, the language of which was so strong that it prompted a federal treason indictment for every signer of the petition. An intriguing, unknown influence on the senator may have been in an unpublished letter, W.W. Drummond to Stephen A. Douglas, May 16, 1857, found in the Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago Library. Virtually unnoticed by Utah historians, Abraham Lincoln delivered an unexpected rebuttal to Douglas in Springfield on June 26, 1857. While not defending the Mormons or their territorial integrity, Lincoln pressed hard on Douglas's harsh remedy for the Mormon problem vis-a-vis his defense of Popular

Even before it was clear how the Utah War was to be resolved, the pressures for dismemberment intensified. On October 21, 1857, Apostle John Taylor wrote to the beleaguered U.S. Army on Ham's Fork: "You may be aware that measures were also set on foot and bills prepared to divide up Utah among the Territories of Nebraska, Kansas, Oregon and New Mexico, (giving a slice to California) for the purpose of bringing us into collision with the people of these Territories…." Two months later a Kansas newspaper devoted its Christmas day editorial to speculation about a new territory of "Columbus" to be carved from Utah's western flank. On January 8, 1858—as part of his last official act—California's outgoing governor, J. Neely Johnson, called for the organization of a new territory to encompass western Utah's Carson Valley.[22] Ten days later Delegate Bernhisel reported to Brigham Young from Congress that a "... resolution to inquire into the expediency of repealing the territorial act of Utah, and attaching the Territory to other territories or adjoin[in]g States are still before the Committee [on Territories]."[23]

Wading into the fray of proposed border changes during the Utah War was another bete noir of Utah's early territorial period, Judge Perry E. Brocchus, the catalyst and most prominent of the principals during the 1851-52 imbroglio of the so-called "runaway officials." Brocchus wrote to President Buchanan to advise him on how to conclude the military aspects of the campaign and then wrote to U.S. Representative William Smith of Virginia in florid terms to advocate support for the movement to form a Nevada Territory from Utah's western region: "…from my knowledge of the facilities which they [Mormons] have for the prosecution of their nefarious purposes toward the feeble, defenceless [sic], and unprotected settlements in the Nevada country, I feel no hesitation in saying that justice and humanity demand the immediate organization of a government over that region…."[24]

Notwithstanding these threats, border change did not strike Utah for several more years, partially because of Bernhisel's effectiveness but largely due to the complexity of competing, simultaneous pressures in Congress for organization or re-organization of a substantial number of other territories in the face of the slavery issue. In 1859, though, Horace Greeley, the influential publisher-editor of the *New York Tribune*, interviewed Brigham

Sovereignty in the territories. The author believes that these two speeches were a little-noted prelude to, if not inspiration for, the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates of the following year. Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), II, 398-410.

[22] John Taylor to Capt. R.B. Marcy, October 21, 1857, *Deseret News*, January 13, 1858. Leavenworth [Kansas] *Weekly Herald*, December 25, 1857. Message of Gov. J. Neely Johnson, January 8, 1858, *Journal of the Ninth Session of the Senate of the State of California* (Sacramento: John O'Meara State Printer, 1858). See also U.S., Congress, House, *Territory of Nevada*, 35th Cong., 1st sess, 1857-58, House Rpt. 375, Serial 966.

[23] John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, January 18, 1858, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD.

[24] Judge Perry E. Brocchus (Washington) to U.S. Rep. William Smith, June 4, 1858, Washington, D.C. *Daily National Intelligencer*, June 7, 1858. Brocchus had recently retired because of failing eyesight from the seat on the supreme court of New Mexico Territory to which he had been appointed after he left Utah's bench.

Young in Great Salt Lake City and offered his readers the following advice with respect to Utah's borders:

> Let the Mormons have the territory to themselves—it is worth very little to others, but reduce its area by cutting off Carson Valley on the one side, and making a Rocky Mountain territory on the other side, and then let them go on their way rejoicing. I believe this is not only by far the cheapest but the safest and best mode of dealing with the [Mormon] difficulties already developed and daily developing here.[25]

In late 1859 William Henry Hooper went to Washington as Dr. Bernhisel's successor with at least two instructions bearing on Utah's territorial integrity. First, given Brigham Young's growing impatience with cautionary advice and his inclination to let chips fall where they might, the new congressional delegate was instructed to resurrect and submit the 1856 statehood petition with boundaries for Deseret coinciding with those of Utah Territory. Secondly, Delegate Hooper was provided a sort of disaster plan to meet the contingency by which Congress might execute threats to disorganize Utah and distribute her territory to her neighbors. In such an event Utah would refuse to recognize the new arrangement, would immediately organize herself into a provisional state, and would petition Congress for statehood. Whether or not the strategizing associated with such a scenario provided for a next move if Congress were to refuse statehood under such dramatic circumstances is unclear, but there are hints that the response in Utah would have been extraordinary.[26]

Throughout 1860 Delegate Hooper grappled with political rumors, feints, and thrusts bearing on the possible creation of a new territory—"Nevada"—to be created from Utah's western flank, and an eastern intrusion—sometimes called "Jefferson" and occasionally "Idaho"—spawned by the gold strikes near what is now Denver. Accompanying this political maneuvering—and perhaps even aggravating it—were closely related, unsuccessful congressional efforts to secure passage of the first federal anti-polygamy legislation.

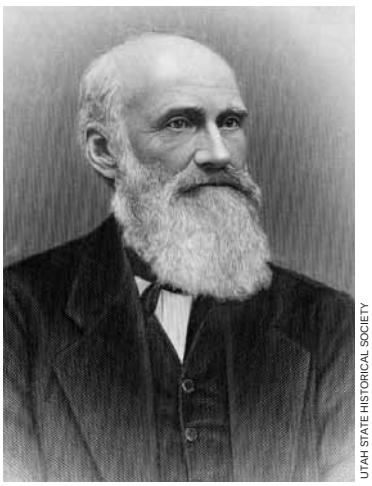
The messages between Brigham Young and Delegate Hooper during 1860 provide insight into what threats to Utah's territorial integrity were afoot and which were acceptable to the LDS leadership and why. They also provide examples of President Young's concern for Hooper's health and peace of mind, as when the prophet wrote: "I don't expect Congress to do much to benefit Utah if they know it, and can help it…all I wish to say

[25] Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey, From New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859* (New York: C.M. Saxton, Barker & Co. and San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft & Co., 1860), 228-29.

[26] The largest concentration of Brigham Young's letters to Delegate Hooper are to be found in William H. Hooper Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University. Discussion of the statehood petition appears throughout the correspondence for 1859-61 but especially in Brigham Young to Hooper, January 5, 1860, and January 3, 1861. The contingency plan is set forth in Brigham Young to Hooper, January 5, 1860, and February 21, 1866, Hooper Collection, Beinecke Library, as well as in Hooper to Brigham Young, April 8, 1860, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. In some cases the dates of letters contained in both of these collections differ by a day or two because of a lag between the production of a rough draft (which was often the retained copy) and the mailing of the finished letter. In such cases the latter date is cited.

further to you at present is to remember the 13th commandment: 'Fret not thy gizzard because of sinners.'"[27] With respect to threats, on March 8, 1860, President Young wrote:

> In action upon Territories, if any, so far as our lives are concerned I know of no objection to Jefferson's extending west to 107ºE, but Nevada should certainly be content to stop at 115ºE, for there is nothing that she can want or use between 115ºE and 113ºE; still if any prevailing influence insists upon a larger slice of desert for Nevada, there would probably be no serious objection to compromising upon 114ºE. I have never heard of any opposition in Utah to the organization of Nevada, so [long as] her eastern boundary is not extended too far from her settlements and settleable regions, which she ought to have too much good judgement to ask for.[28]



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

William H. Hooper.

On April 8, 1860, Hooper grew alarmed and reported to Brigham Young his confrontation with the house committee on the territories in which Hooper made clear that Utah would not submit to total dismemberment, a position that he had stated directly to President Buchanan's sympathetic attorney general, Jeremiah S. Black.[29]

Brigham Young's reaction during the spring of 1860 to Congress's failure to create Nevada and Jefferson at Utah's expense was to advise a distraught Hooper twice to "... take courage and be of good cheer, as one knowing that our God controls the results of the acts of the children of men.... That [divine] control was signally manifested in the late acts of the House in relation to Utah."[30]

But with the withdrawal of many of the southern states from Congress during the secession winter of 1860-1861, the way was open during the closing days of the Buchanan administration to complete the formation of three new western territories. Sensing what was coming for Utah, the Salt Lake *Mountaineer*—a Mormon newspaper—ran an editorial headed "Nevada" on December 8, 1860. It was a remarkable piece signaling acceptance of a truncated western frontier but one that did so with unmistakable poor grace:

> The [Virginia City newspaper] is as boisterous as ever in its call for a separate territorial organization....

[27] Brigham Young to William H. Hooper, April 12, 1860, Hooper Collection, Beinecke Library.

[28] Brigham Young to William H. Hooper, March 8, 1860. The original of this letter is at Beinecke Library and the retained copy at LDS-CHD.

[29] William H. Hooper to Brigham Young, April 8, and March 27, 1860, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD.

[30] Brigham Young to William H. Hooper, April 26, and May 3, 1860, Hooper Collection, Beinecke Library.

> Fully, then, do we endorse the sentiments of our neighbors. Let there be a division, palpable and understood. Beyond the desert our friends do not admire our ways. We have no objections. They seek another government. We are willing. They are fond of litigation. We proffer no objections. If they think that they can travel alone, we dare undertake the toilsome task by ourselves.
>
> Since the first organization of the Territory, Carson [Valley] has been a most unremunerating burthen upon Utah. What is she now? A worthless, unaccountable scab, which cannot find a place in any class of an honest vocabulary. So let her remain, dried up, buried and forgotten.[31]

During his last unhappy week in office, President Buchanan signed bills establishing Nevada, Colorado, and Dakota territories. Nevada—the heart of the current state—was created by breaking off a very large (63,214 square miles) section of Utah Territory west of the 116th meridian.[32] Dakota was formed from Washington and Nebraska territories, but, as discussed below, her creation triggered a partial expansion in Nebraska's boundaries that ran to Utah's disadvantage in her northeast corner.

Colorado was formed largely at the expense of Kansas, Nebraska, and New Mexico, although her western region was created and its boundary defined by removing from Utah a significant area lying between the summit of the Rockies—the original eastern line for both unrecognized Deseret and established Utah—and the 109th meridian to the west.

Precisely why Colorado's western boundary was carved out of Utah's eastern flank and established at the 109th meridian of western longitude is not well understood, especially because it was a region of the Pacific slope so isolated and barren that settlers did not penetrate it in any substantial way until the 1880s.[33] In their December 1859 petition to Congress, the Jeffersonians had pleaded, without any explanation or rationale, for a western boundary to be established at the 110th meridian.[34] This was a proposed line considerably more ambitious and west of what Congress subsequently gave Colorado in 1861. What was probably at work in the proposals of the Jeffersonians and Coloradans was the allure of geometric simplicity—a rectangular-shaped territory—coupled with a desire to annex as much as possible of a potentially ore-bearing part of Utah.[35] Realizing by then that their western flanks were to be lost to Colorado in any event, there was no reason for the territorial delegates of Nebraska and Kansas to plead Utah's case in Congress, and they did not.

[31] Salt Lake City *Mountaineer*, December 8, 1860. This editorial was probably written by James Ferguson, one of the newspaper's three Mormon lawyer-founders and the Nauvoo Legion's adjutant general.

[32] Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 49-68.

[33] William Wyckoff, *Creating Colorado, The Making of a Western Landscape 1860-1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 219-52.

[34] U.S., Congress, House, *Jefferson Territory...*, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1859-60, House Misc. Doc. 10, Serial 1063, p. 4.

[35] Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest 1846-1912, A Territorial History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 220, and Lamar to MacKinnon, August 10, 1995.

If the specific logic behind creation of Colorado's western frontier is little discussed, there is even less understanding of the chain of events affecting Utah's northeast corner and loss of its distinctive "notch." The nearly universal assumption today is that this border oddity was created in its entirety in 1868 with the establishment of Wyoming Territory. Not so; the notch was created in two steps, with the first (easternmost) half lost by Utah in March 1861 through the provisions of the Dakota legislation which altered Nebraska Territory by giving it 10,740 square miles of what had been part of Utah.[36] This now obscure change extended Nebraska's pronounced panhandle shape, presumably to continue her influence over a corridor encompassing the crucial emigration trails as far west as the Green River district. There are signs that both Delegate Hooper and President Young were caught off-guard by this development.[37] Upon recognizing the confusion that such a low profile change caused with respect to the political governance for the Mormons' Green River ferries and the main emigration route, Brigham Young commented that he considered it to be a "blunder" that needed rectifying.[38]

How did LDS leaders feel about the creation of Nevada and Colorado? With respect to Nevada, Delegate Hooper later told the House that his attitude was "... so far from opposing the measure, I acquiesced in it."[39] It is more difficult to determine Brigham Young's true feelings, but the comments that he left seem amazingly nonchalant in comparison to those

[36] One of the studies most helpful to understanding how the eastern half of Utah's "notch" (the area bounded by the crest of Rockies and the 110th meridian of west longitude as well as by the 41st and 42nd parallels of north latitude) was acquired successively by Nebraska, Idaho, Dakota, and Wyoming territories is Albert Watkins, "Nebraska, Mother of States," *Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society* 17 (1913): 51-52. What obscures this chain of events today is that the final disposition of this parcel was part of Wyoming's 1868 creation as well as the fact that the names of two early territorial owners after Utah—Nebraska and Dakota—are now attached to states the lines of which are hundreds of miles east of the Green River district.

[37] With hindsight, it is likely that Messrs. Hooper and Young would have expected that Utah Territory's northeast border would have been altered in March 1861 by a northward extension of the new Colorado's western boundary—the 109th meridian—into Nebraska, thereby giving Utah a square corner defined by the 109th meridian and 42nd parallel. This would have meant Utah's loss of territory in the northeast between the crest of the Rockies and the 109th meridian, but at least it would have been a change consistent with what had happened to her border further south with the establishment of Colorado. Instead, at the 41st parallel Utah's new frontier jogged west from the 109th to the 110th meridian and then moved north to the 42nd parallel, the line then shared with Oregon Territory (later Idaho).

[38] The question of which territory had political jurisdiction over the important, Mormon-operated Green River ferries and why is discussed in Daniel H. Wells to Lewis Robison, August 7, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. President Wells was Brigham Young's second counselor as well as the lieutenant-general commanding the Nauvoo Legion; Robison was the church's long-standing agent in the Green River-Fort Bridger area. President Young's instructions to his delegate and reference to a "blunder of a degree square on our northeast corner" are in Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, September 21, and December 30, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. One wonders whether this incident played a role in the decision that Bernhisel should stand for election to replace Hooper as delegate during the summer of 1861 or whether the change was simply a matter of the relative health of the two men—Bernhisel's improved by two years at home in Great Salt Lake City and Hooper's weakened by the same pressures that had led to Bernhisel's relief in 1859.

[39] Floor remarks in the U.S. House of Representatives by Delegate William H. Hooper, May 3, 1866, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Con., 1st sess. (Washington: F. & J. Rives, 1866), Part 3:2368-70.

during the earlier Kansas-Nebraska threat. Perhaps this was a case of presidential mellowing, fatalism, or whistling past the graveyard. And so on April 2, 1861, President Young wrote two letters to Mormon agents in San Francisco. To Elder Dwight Eveleth he confided: "We are much pleased that Colorado and Nevada are organized with meridians 109 and 116 for boundaries between us, as this arrangement precludes the howlings, growlings, and other annoyances from our western neighbors. If they cannot now regulate affairs to suit them, which of course they can not, they have no one to blame but themselves."[40]

To the flamboyant, soon-notorious Walter Murray Gibson, President Young wrote a similar letter. But for Elder Gibson he added the unprophetic thought that the boundary adjustment "... leaves our Territory in a very convenient shape, and one which it will bother our enemies to readily find a pretext for changing again."[41] He remained silent on the far smaller loss to Nebraska in the northeast corner which—buried as it was in Dakota legislation—may not yet have been apparent in Great Salt Lake City. Also undiscussed was an obscure, remarkable provision of Nevada's territorial constitution which explicitly anticipated and facilitated the subsequent movement of her eastern frontier through encroachments into western Utah.[42]

Notwithstanding President Young's lightheartedness in April 1861, he continued to brood over Senator Douglas's earlier betrayal. A month after corresponding with Elders Eveleth and Gibson, Brigham Young wrote a caustic, mocking letter to a gravely ill Douglas reminding him of his 1857 Springfield speech as well as his role in the disruption of the Union then so violently in progress. With Douglas's failed 1860 presidential bid and Joseph Smith's apocalyptic 1843 prophecy about Douglas's political fate in mind, President Young closed: "Do you not begin to realize that the prediction of the Prophet Joseph Smith, personally delivered to you, has been and is being literally fulfilled upon your head? Why have you barked with the dogs, except to prove that you were a dog with them?" The velvet glove was off. Within a month—even before receiving this letter—Stephen A. Douglas lay dead in Chicago, with Fort Sumter in Confederate hands.[43]

[40] Brigham Young to Dwight Eveleth, April 2, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. Although not well-known to historians, Elder Eveleth was a respected, effective agent of the LDS church in San Francisco to whom President Young often turned to get things done.

[41] Brigham Young to Walter Murray Gibson, April 2, 1861. Gibson, a recent convert in 1861, was perhaps second only to John Cook Bennett in his meteoric rise to power and notoriety in the LDS church before his excommunication. It was Gibson who in 1858 had merchandised a scheme for LDS mass migration to an island in the Dutch East Indies to first President Buchanan and then President Young. Subsequently Gibson migrated to the Kingdom of Hawaii, where he became the queen's foreign minister and created such havoc in the LDS Hawaiian mission that an apostolic delegation had to travel from Utah to terminate Gibson's leadership and restore order.

[42] Frankie Sue Del Papa, ed., *Political History of Nevada* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1990), 96. I am indebted to Professor W. Paul Reeve of Southern Virginia University for bringing this constitutional oddity to my attention.

[43] Brigham Young to Stephen A. Douglas, May 2, 1861, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. Although this remarkable letter was signed "Utah" rather than with President Young's name, the tone, sub-

Upon assuming the presidency, Abraham Lincoln, Senator Douglas's archrival, explained his Mormon policy by commenting that if Brigham Young "... will let me alone, I will let him alone."[44] But 1862 brought a further deterioration in federal-Mormon relations, including a new regiment of federal troops to garrison Utah and the passage of the Morrill Act, the first of a series of federal laws intended to eradicate plural marriage.[45] Within this context, a fourth attempt at statehood for Deseret failed during 1862, and the new Nevada Territory—fresh from an unsuccessful border conflict with California—succeeded in further encroaching on Utah.[46] This time Congress moved the Nevada-Utah boundary east one additional degree of longitude from the 116th to the 115th meridian. Having resumed his old role as territorial delegate, Dr. Bernhisel reported his perceptions as to the motivations behind this 18,325-square-mile change—gold in the Humboldt Mountains—as well as his inability to get changes to repair the "notch" problem created in 1861.[47]

If ultimately Delegate Bernhisel was unable to remedy Utah's northeast border problem, it was not for his lack of tenacity. After months of lobbying Nebraska's congressional delegate and territorial secretary, Bernhisel obtained their support for a change that would retain the 42nd parallel as the northern boundary but move Utah's northeastern frontier eastward one degree of longitude from the 110th to the 109th meridian. This was not Utah's original border (the crest of the Rockies, even further east) but it was at least a line consistent with the common boundary with Colorado Territory that had been created by Congress in 1861. He then set out to influence the congressional committees with jurisdiction. But there

stance, and location of the rough draft together with President Young's periodic use of aliases when directing hostile messages to enemies leads to the assumption of his authorship. An example of such behavior was his instruction to Delegate Hooper as to how to send a threatening letter under an assumed name to former Judge Cradlebaugh in Nevada. (See Brigham Young to William H. Hooper, February 23, 1862, Hooper Collection, Beinecke Library.) A very similar reference to Douglas as a barking dog had appeared in the church's rebuttal to his Springfield speech, *Deseret News*, September 2, 1857. No copy of this letter can be found in the Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago Library. Fort Sumter fell on April 13, and Douglas died on June 3, 1861. Joseph Smith's May 18, 1843 prophecy, delivered personally to Douglas following a dinner meeting in Illinois, was: "Judge, you will aspire to the presidency of the United States; and if you ever turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of the Almighty upon you; and you will live to see and know that I have testified the truth to you; for the conversation of this day will stick to you through life." *Deseret News*, September 24, 1856 and September 2, 1857.

[44] Lincoln's comment, made during a White House interview with T.B.H. Stenhouse, appears in George U. Hubbard, "Abraham Lincoln as Seen by the Mormons," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (Spring 1963): 103. Hubbard's fine article is one of the few studies to take note of Lincoln's June 26, 1857 rebuttal of Douglas's earlier speech about, among other subjects, Utah affairs, *Ibid*., 95-6.

[45] E.B. Long, *The Saints and the Union, Utah Territory during the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), and Brigham D. Madsen, *Glory Hunter, A Biography of Patrick Edward Connor* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990).

[46] Nevada's clash with California—known variously as the Roop County War, the War of Injunctions, or the Sagebrush War—arose because Congress had defined the State of California's eastern boundary differently than it subsequently defined Nevada Territory's western frontier, a matter not resolved until a definitive survey was agreed upon in 1865. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 74-75.

[47] John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, April 4, 1862, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD.

Bernhisel encountered implacable forces ranging from fundamental hostility to Utah to a fondness for geometric simplicity, a traditional factor often at work in the American state-making process. With respect to the latter, one congressman deflected Bernhisel's plea for border rationalization in 1862 with the revealing comment that "... it would disfigure Nebraska just as much as it would improve the appearance of Utah."[48] Here was a depth of analysis worthy of geographer Albert L. Fisher's comment 117 years later: "It is said that geometric boundaries are used when there is ignorance of the land or the people or both. This must have been true for Utah...."[49]

Although there were continual attempts at border realignment—especially by Nevada—no further changes in Utah's external borders occurred during the Civil War, but federal-Mormon relations continued to fester. With Reconstruction's punitive atmosphere, the attitude in Congress was that the war had eradicated one of the twin relics of barbarism—slavery—and the time had come to deal with the nation's second peculiar institution, polygamy.[50]

Within a year after Lincoln's death, Nevada—a state since 1864—sought to encompass within her frontiers additional mineral deposits. Most coveted were the anticipated silver lodes of the Pahranagat Mining District, which was already in southeastern Nevada but—absent a border survey—was believed by some to be in Mormon Utah. In 1866 Nevada succeeded in getting Congress to move her boundary another degree of longitude east to the 114th meridian—involving 18,325 square miles—where the Utah-Nevada border remains today.[51] At the fore front of this change and virtually every subsequent attempt during the 1860s either to reduce Utah's borders or to obliterate her was Representative James M. Ashley of Toledo, Ohio, chairman of the house committee on the territories and a hard-line Republican since the 1856 creation of the party's anti-polygamy platform plank. During his 1865 fact-finding trip to Salt Lake City, Representative Ashley caused a minor and long-forgotten stir by unsuccessfully urging one of the town aldermen to provide him with female companionship.[52] Whether this unverified incident affected Ashley's

[48] John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, April 4, and August 30, 1862.

[49] Albert L. Fisher, "Boundaries and Utah: Sense or Nonsense?" 127.

[50] The punitive, Reconstruction-oriented tone of federal-Mormon relations following the Civil War is reflected in the titles of two relevant articles: Richard D. Poll, "Political Reconstruction of Utah Territory 1866-1890, *Pacific Historical Review* 27 (May 1958): 111-26, and Everett L. Cooley, "Carpetbag Rule, Territorial Government in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (April 1958): 107-20.

[51] Whether current efforts in Salt Lake City, Carson City and Washington will succeed in transferring the town of Wendover, Utah to West Wendover, Nevada—and presumably bring with it a change in the 114th meridian as the unbroken state line—remains to be resolved. In this case, as with motivations during the 1850s/60s, the interest is economic, although currently it takes the form of access to gambling revenues rather than possession of gold and silver deposits. Presumably, this shift might mollify those Nevadans who believe that their state was short-changed by two miles on the east because of Congress's nineteenth-century practice of describing meridians of longitude in terms of a prime meridian running through Washington rather than Greenwich, England. Del Papa, *Political History of Nevada*, 96-98.

[52] For a caustic, sarcastic description of this affair, see George A. Smith to William H. Hooper, January 24, 1869, Historian's Office, Letterpress copybooks, Vol. 2, 764, LDS-CHD.

subsequent appetite for legislation running to Utah's disadvantage is difficult to determine, although George A. Smith clearly believed that it did. Also an imponderable is the accuracy of Ashley's unsubstantiated comment that during the same visit "President Young told me he had no objection whatever to this proposed dismemberment of the territory of Utah. There are but few, if any, of his people living upon the Territory proposed to be transferred [to Nevada]."[53]

The maneuvering in Congress leading to the 1866 border shift was often bare-knuckled and took a terrible toll on the health of William H. Hooper, who had again succeeded Dr. Bernhisel as Utah's congressional delegate. Speaking in opposition to the enabling legislation in the House, Delegate Hooper focused on the unilateral, neo-colonial, non-consultative character of the proposal, noting that "On the simple action of a committee thousands of square miles are taken from one Territory and attached to another without ... consulting the people who are to be transferred [thereby] ... reducing these people ... to the condition of serfs." In the floor debates a Nevada congressman put the case baldly: "The reason why we want this territory for Nevada is that our people from Nevada have discovered mines in that degree of latitude, and we are occupying the country now.... The people of Nevada are a mining people, while the people of Utah are an agricultural people ... the Mormons have always been averse to mining ... our people who discover and work mines there do not wish to be under the control of the government of Utah...." W. Paul Reeve concludes that "... the 1866 boundary shift, in essence, privileged a state over two territories, mining over agriculture, and money, or more precisely the illusion of money, over the principal of popular consent."[54]

The year 1867 brought continued pressure on Utah's territorial integrity with proposals in Nevada's state legislature to annex the entirety of what remained of Utah. There were also thrusts in Washington to distribute all but the Salt Lake Valley to Utah's neighbors. Utah editors reacted with a form of fey bemusement, singling out debt-burdened, economically floundering Nevada for the brunt of attention and lampoonery. Here, as had Brigham Young earlier, T.B.H. Stenhouse's *Salt Lake Telegraph* lit an editorial backfire by asking if any of Utah's neighbors really wanted to upset their internal political balances by receiving into their midst a substantial

[53] Floor remarks in the U.S. House of Representatives by Rep. James M. Ashley, May 3, 1866, *Congressional Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington: F. & J. Rives, 1866), part 3: 2368-70. So ill-informed were some congressmen about western and Utah affairs that in response to this assertion by Ashley an Illinois representative commented: "I would like to know who President Young is."

[54] The best summary and assessment of the congressional aspects of the 1866 border shift is W. Paul Reeve, "'By All Means Give Nevada a Slice': Americanization and the Remapping of Mormons and Southern Paiutes, 1866-1873," unpublished paper for Mormon History Association's 2002 Tucson annual meeting, 8-10. This paper is based on Reeve's equally useful 2002 Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Utah's history department, "Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes: Making Space on the Nineteenth-Century Western Frontier." The May 1866 floor comments of Delegate Hooper and Rep. Delos Ashley of Nevada are found in both Reeve's paper and dissertation as well as *Congressional Globe*, 1866, 2368-70.

Mormon voting bloc. The *Telegraph* brought home its point with a cunning editorial titled "Plenty of Room," which evoked a vision of hundreds of thousands of English Mormons emigrating to the West, including to Utah's neighbors.[55] This line of argument—a bit like the Br'er Rabbit/briar patch stratagem of *The Uncle Remus Stories*—was highly effective in blunting the most far-ranging moves contemplated for Utah.

Nonetheless, in 1868 Congress reacted to the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad west of Cheyenne and the discovery of gold near South Pass by organizing a rectangular Wyoming Territory extracted from the enormity of Dakota Territory. In the process, Wyoming took from Dakota (which had acquired it from Idaho Territory) the relatively small rectangular area bounded by the 110th meridian and 41st parallel that Nebraska had first taken from northeast Utah Territory in 1861 and expanded this "notch" by moving the border another degree of longitude to the west. Accordingly, the Wyoming-Utah border was established at the 111th meridian, where it remains today.

With the creation of a rectangular Wyoming in 1868 and the reaffirmation and extension of Utah's loss of this distinctive "notch," Utah's external borders received what were to be their final adjustment. With hindsight, one might say that both Jim Bridger and Horace Greeley had their ways.

Notwithstanding this appearance of stability, beaten back during the twenty-eight years between the 1868 establishment of Wyoming and 1896 statehood for Utah were an astonishing array of proposals to adjust Utah's borders too numerous to be catalogued here. Among others, there was a spectacular, complex but unsuccessful 1869 Ashley-led thrust to dismember Utah in stages, with the motivation this time a naked attempt to destroy Mormon political power ("to blot out the Territory") rather than concern over control of prospective silver mines. The result would have been a map that Delegate Hooper described as a "legislative earthquake." Apostle George A. Smith fumed over the impact on western Utah: "... for a population of twenty-five thousand [Utahns] to be transferred to Nevada like pigs shut in a pen and then gratuitously made heirs to a share of Nevada's debts with a full share of her poll taxes ... seems a severe penalty.... We feel no apprehension that Congress could be mad enough to pass such a Bill and would feel surprised that the Committee on Territories could disgrace itself by producing such an unreasonable measure merely to gratify a choleric spleen."[56]

In addition to this 1869 thrust, there were also: Nevada's subsequent attempts to encroach even further east; President Grant's surprising 1872 efforts to re-allocate a portion of underpopulated, economically failing Wyoming Territory to Utah; and the final unsuccessful Mormon effort in

[55] *Semi-Weekly Salt Lake Telegraph*, October 31, 1867.

[56] Reeve, "'By All Means Give Nevada a Slice'" 19-21. George A. Smith to William H. Hooper, January 24, 1869, LDS-CHD.

ANNALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN GEOGRAPHERS

Map showing Utah Territory's original 1850 boundaries and subsequent losses of territory between 1861 and 1869 to Nevada, Colorado, Nebraska, and Wyoming.

1872 to create a State of Deseret encompassing not only Utah Territory but implied portions of both Idaho and Arizona territories.[57]

Even in what proved to be the last year of his life, seventy-four-year-old Brigham Young was called upon to react to startling potential shifts in Utah's boundaries, including multiple proposals that ranged in character between total dismemberment to a scheme that added new territory to Utah while removing other areas. On March 6, 1876, Territorial Delegate and LDS Apostle George Q. Cannon wrote to President Young from Washington to describe those options, all of which ultimately failed. Cannon's comments here are revealing for multiple reasons: they were addressed not to Utah's legal governor but to a man who nonetheless still very much led the territory's people; and they reflect the extent to which the fires of indignation within Cannon—as well as Brigham Young—had been tempered by a sense of practical accommodation which focused more on regionalism and the logic of Mormon settlement patterns than on the allure of territorial size or the symmetry of geometric boundaries:

> Enclosed I send you a Map, a copy of which you will find in the Report of the Indian Commissioner. I have marked it with ink to show you a proposition which Mr. Foot of Ill., who was out at Utah last Summer, thinks of making. His idea is to introduce a Bill changing the boundaries of the Territories and make them large enough to be admitted as States. Arizona will be united to New Mexico, a part of Wyoming to Colorado, a part to Utah and a part to Montana. To Utah there will be also a part of Idaho attached, and a part also to Oregon and another part to Washington. Dakotah will be divided between Montana and Minnesota. You can see by the map what the changes will be. He says that some have thought that Nevada might be strengthened by dividing Utah down the centre of the Mountains and attaching her western part to Nevada and her eastern to Colorado. I told him that this would be like splitting a man up his backbone. We were widely separated from both our neighbors on the east and west. He said he was not in favor of the proposition himself, but how did I like his boundaries. I told him frankly that if a Bill with the boundaries marked on the map could be carried, I should be in favor of it.... Look at the Map and please let me know your views. We are

[57] T.A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 120, and Morgan, *The State of Deseret*, 115.

> rapidly reaching such a growth of population that a threat to divide us does not have much terror. We should prove a power in any family upon which they may seek to engraft us, and I think that the feeling is to confine us to ourselves as much as possible and let the problem be fought out in Utah…. [58]

And so the legislative gnawing at Utah's flanks continued throughout the 1870s and occasionally beyond.

Ironically, once Utah became a state in 1896, she continued, somewhat Nevada-like, to try to annex the Arizona Strip—that portion of Arizona Territory lying between the 37th parallel and the Colorado River to the south.[59] Perhaps after decades of experiencing shrinkage in her borders, Utah considered turnabout—and a renewed effort at expansion—to be fair play.

In summary, why did Utah lose these six tranches of territory during 1861-1868? Tempting as it is to assume that anti-Mormon prejudice was the dominant reason, the story of Utah's border shifts is more complex than that factor alone. Certainly substantial "anti" forces were powerfully afoot throughout the period under discussion. But their principal impact was to undercut the arguments of Utah's would-be defenders. Utah's major handicaps were her sheer, unsustainable size, hostility to mining, and the Mormons' inability to obtain statehood in 1850 as California had done. Had effective county governments for mining districts been created and had Utah been a state during this period, territorial amputations would have been far more difficult, if not impossible to accomplish, as the cases of enormous but undivided Texas and California demonstrate.[60]

What did Utahns think of these changes? From LDS leaders there was a surprising range of reactions—including acquiescence and acceptance—depending upon the time, circumstances, and leader involved. After a decade of battling, his loss of the governorship, and a painful realization that much of what was western Utah could not sustain significant population levels, Brigham Young became surprisingly philosophical as long as the

[58] George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young, March 6, 1876, Brigham Young Collection, LDS-CHD. The tone of this letter, to which no Brigham Young response has been located, is far more mellow than Cannon's earlier work on the opposite coast as the fiery young editor of the San Francisco *Western Standard* on the eve of the Utah War. See Roger R. Ekins, *Defending Zion: George Q. Cannon and the California Mormon Newspaper Wars in 1856-1857* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 2002).

[59] See for example: an account of the unsuccessful visit to the Arizona territorial legislature by Utah "commissioners" seeking to exchange land for cash in *Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, March 8, 1897, LDS-CHD; and the memorial and petitions seeking the Arizona Strip forwarded to Congress by Salt Lake City's Commercial Club on behalf of southern Utahns, Salt Lake City *Herald*, April 9, 1902. Also relevant is the January 27, 1909, petition to Congress by Utah's governor and state legislature as well as the immediate March 3, 1909, rebuttal by Arizona's legislative assembly, *Congressional Record*, 60th Cong., 2nd sess. (February 6, 1909), Vol. 43, Part 2, 197, and *Congressional Record*, 61st Cong., 1st sess. (March 16, 1909), Vol. 44, Part 1, 52. Malcolm L. Comeaux, "Attempts to Establish and Change a Western Boundary," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 72 (June 1982): 265-67.

[60] Ironically and with consummate poor timing, the LDS church reversed direction on the mining issue and purchased both mines and claims in Nye County, Nevada, during the 1890s with disastrous financial results. Leonard J. Arrington and Edward Leo Lyman, "The Mormon Church and Nevada Gold Mines," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 4 (Fall 1998): 191-205.


UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

George Q. Cannon.

populous north/south corridor through the Salt Lake Valley and beyond was protected for Utah.[61] His carpetbagger-successors as governors were indifferent to Utah's fate territorially at a time when her congressional delegates and Apostle George A. Smith were deeply troubled by Congress's cavalier if not rapacious treatment of Utah's borders.[62]

Clearly Brigham Young saw the ultimate defense for Utah's borders—and the rest of her destiny—as lying with divine providence. The major fall-back strategy was the attainment of statehood, although with hindsight that strategy was hopelessly protracted by the need to resolve the polygamy furor. For the most part, Mormon newspaper defenses of the 1860s and thereafter dealt with potential border shifts with a deft, even light editorial tone. Interestingly, throughout these border wars Mormon leadership focused on the bete noire of Nevada with little commentary about Utah's eastern flank once the Kansas-Nebraska crisis passed in 1854. Because of its strategic location vis-a-vis emigration routes, concern over the tranche taken out of Utah's northeast corner in 1861 was an exception to this apparent lack of anxiety, although the importance of even that issue waned once it became clear that a transcontinental railroad would replace travel by the overland trail.

Once President Young resumed his interest in colonizing after the Utah War, he seemed to focus more on establishing Mormon settlements than in worrying about which political entity nominally governed them. Glen M. Leonard makes this point eloquently in noting that "In the long-range Latter-day Saint historical view, the Utah-Mormon boundary didn't much matter [anymore].... Their religious kingdom, like Daniel's stone, rolled forth from the mountain-top territory in the American West. The Mormon ecclesiastical sphere became an overlay on other political, social, and cultural empires." It is revealing that in 1863 when Mormon leaders asked Brigham Young to clarify whether the Bear Lake Valley settlement of

[61] Until May 1858, Brigham Young held firmly to the mistaken notion that the deserts of western Utah (now central Nevada) contained large, hidden and fertile oases that could be used as refuges for mass LDS flight from the advancing Utah Expedition. Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary, Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

[62] W. Paul Reeve cites the lack of stewardship of Gov. Charles Durkee as a case study of the extent to which Utah's appointed governors during this period focused on their personal well-being rather than on a defense of Utah's territorial integrity. In 1866 Durkee was preoccupied with his $8,000 investment in Pahranagat's "Green Monster" mine and even petitioned President Johnson for a months-long leave of absence so that he might leave Utah to visit his distant claim once it was established that it lay in Nevada rather than Utah. See Reeve dissertation, "Mormons, Miners, and Southern Paiutes" (Chapter Two, "Power, Place, and Prejudice").

Franklin was on the Utah or Idaho side of the unsurveyed 42nd parallel, President Young responded: "I don't know, neither do I care.... We calculate to be the kings of these mountains. Now let us go ahead and occupy them."[63] That a mass LDS exodus from Utah was periodically considered in the late 1850s and thereafter must also have had some unknown but perhaps relaxing impact on Mormon attitudes about fixed boundary lines.[64]

Was the massive realignment of Utah's borders unique or unusual in the American and Western experience? In many, but not all, respects it was not. For example, consider Massachusetts' loss of Maine, New York's of Vermont, the original Indiana Territory's loss of Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, Ohio's surrender of her claims to what became Michigan's Upper Peninsula, and huge losses of area by the original territories of Oregon, Idaho, Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, and New Mexico. If Utah Territory lost area three times to Nevada in 1861, 1862, and 1866, so too did an even younger Arizona Territory in 1867. If Utah lost part of its eastern region to Colorado, so too did New Mexico, which also lost Arizona in 1863. If Wyoming took part of Utah in 1868, it was also created in part from Dakota and from Idaho Territory, which, as Leonard J. Arrington has pointed out, was at one time larger than Texas but smaller than Alaska.[65]

In a sense, what Congress did to Utah's external boundaries, Utah inflicted on herself through changes to her own county lines approximately ninety times during the territorial period. By the same token, the portions of four Utah counties that Colorado acquired in 1861 were balkanized into all or part of more than twenty Colorado counties by 1889.[66]

Even Congress's rejection of the name Deseret and selection of Utah in its place was not unusual. It was a legislative arbitrariness and insensitivity to the West that denied Nevada the name of Washoe, substituted Colorado for Jefferson or Idaho, and two years later selected Idaho, a name invented for yet another territory, under the misapprehension that the name had either an Indian or mineral association. It was with such behavior that a Pennsylvania-born congressman inflicted the name of a valley in his native

[63] Leonard, "The Mormon Boundary Question," 136, and Leonard J. Arrington, *History of Idaho* (Moscow/Boise: University of Idaho/Idaho Historical Society, 1994), I, 271. A contrary view, and the assertion that in re-colonizing what is now southeastern Idaho in the early 1860s "Brigham Young wanted to keep Utah's borders as large as possible, enhancing the safety of the center," appears in Lawrence G. Coates, Peter G. Boag, Ronald L. Hatzenbuehler, and Merwin R. Swanson, "The Mormon Settlement of Southeastern Idaho, 1845-1900," *Journal of Mormon History* 20 (Fall 1994): 49-50. See also Donald W. Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (June 1965): 191-220.

[64] President Young's correspondence during the Utah War of 1857-58 indicates that among the options he considered but rejected were a wholesale flight to Vancouver Island, Alaska, Mexico, Montana's Bitterroot Valley (and perhaps beyond), an island in the Dutch East Indies, and coastal Nicaragua. A review of Thomas L. Kane's papers at Brigham Young University indicates that during the polygamy persecution of subsequent decades exodus to some of those or other refuges was also quietly considered.

[65] Arrington, *History of Idaho*, I, 213.

[66] Allen, "The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah," 261, and LeRoy R. Hafen, "The Counties of Colorado: A History of Their Creation and the Origin of Their Names," *The Colorado Magazine* 8 (March 1931): 48-60.

state on a Wyoming-in-formation.[67]

What was truly unique about the transformation of Utah's borders was not the fact that they changed—as originally drawn they were unsustainable—but rather that the changes were accompanied by a decades-long call for Utah's very obliteration as a geopolitical entity. No other American territory or state shared this Carthaginian threat; not even the post-war fate of the eleven blood-soaked states of the Confederacy was considered so punitively. With the sole exception of Virginia's loss of her western counties during the Civil War, none of the Confederate states was punished with territorial losses.[68] As the nineteenth century wore on, these draconian thrusts for Utah's territorial dismemberment were mirrored in congressional action to disincorporate the LDS church and abolish Utah's territorial militia, the Nauvoo Legion.

The phenomenon of Utah's shifting boundaries was in many respects a normal part of the American frontier experience, given Congress's continuing penchant for creating in arbitrary fashion enormous, unsustainable territorial entities that later required rationalization. Glen M. Leonard argues that when Congress created Utah and New Mexico territories in 1850, it fully intended to subdivide them at a later date. Such had been the American state-making process since the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, with large, sparsely populated territories serving as administrative waystations on the path to the subsequent establishment of more populous, smaller, and presumably more stable state governments.[69] At the height of the Utah War, the editor of the *Missouri Republican* described this process well while identifying its pitfalls: "The repeal of the organic law of Utah has been proposed. A question of such gravity should be well considered. Vested rights are sacred things; but Congress can dismember Utah at once without injustice. The area is abundantly large for three territories, and one might be cut off from each flank without injury to Utah. Our Territories are all too large for the proper execution of the laws and protection of the stationary and transitory inhabitants; and it is certainly 'penny wisdom and pound foolishness' not to make them of the proper size at the outset."[70]

But in Utah's case, irrespective of the accountabilities involved, it was a

[67] For an example of the arbitrariness and misinformation permeating the territorial naming process in Congress, see Arrington, *History of Idaho*, I, 214-15.

[68] It is interesting that at about the time that Utah lost territory to Nevada and Wyoming, even a defeated Texas was able to repel attempts to split off her western region as a State of Coyote. Ernest Wallace, *The Howling of Coyotes, Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas* (College Station: Texas A. & M. Press, 1979). Even the creation of a new state from Virginia's western counties has not gone unchallenged, as with Vason Kesavan and Michael Stokes Paulsen, "Is West Virginia Unconstitutional?" *California Law Review* 90 (March 2002): 291-400.

[69] Glen M. Leonard, unpublished "Commentator Remarks" for "Shifting Sands: 19th-Century Borderlands and the Changing Boundaries of Nevada, Utah and Arizona," a panel at Mormon History Association's 2002 Tucson annual meeting. See also Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States, 1861-1890* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969).

[70] Editorial "Utah" St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, January 31, 1858.

tableau played out against the background of constant, decades-long pressure of the most intense, punitive character aggravated by the indifference during the crucial 1860s of a procession of carpetbagger-governors. That Utah managed to retain the territory that she did was no small accomplishment requiring constant vigilance and lobbying in Washington by Delegates Bernhisel, Hooper, and Cannon as well as strategizing and even dollops of humor in Salt Lake City by Utah Territory's supreme leader.[71] Although threats and even legislative proposals to dismember Utah totally welled up throughout her territorial period, not even an enraged, frustrated American public and its Congress would go that far. Whether this restraint was because of a failure of nerve, congressional apprehension over spreading Mormon bloc voting to adjoining territories, an ultimate sense of national decency, or divine intervention, Brigham Young consistently believed in Utah's survival as an American political entity of some shape as a matter of political reality as well as of religious destiny.

[71] For Brigham Young's comments on the labors and accomplishments of Hooper and Bernhisel as territorial delegates, see his Salt Lake Tabernacle discourse of May 26, 1867.

GIFT OF MSGR. JEROME STOFTEL TO THE UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Hesitant Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Southeastern Utah

By GARY TOPPING

Utah's demography, in which almost eighty percent of the population lives along the Wasatch Front, makes it easy for residents of the rural areas to feel forgotten or neglected. As roads, utilities, and government services have been slow to arrive, so has the Catholic Church found it difficult to extend its ministries to those sparsely populated and remote regions. Difficulties abounded in southeastern Utah where, in addition to the isolation and loneliness inherent to life there, priests found it almost essential to be competent in the Spanish language and in techniques of ministering to American Indians.[1] Also, the poverty of most of their parishioners, who were herdsmen, miners, or railroad workers, required outside financial support even for the priests' living expenses. Thus it is not surprising that the history of the Catholic Church there, during the first half of the twentieth century, was a hesitant one.[2]

It is ironic that southeastern Utah, the region where Roman Catholicism first made its appearance, was among the last regions in

St. Joseph's Church, Monticello, ca. 1942.

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[1] By "southeastern Utah" I mean basically Grand and San Juan counties, though I also include Green River, the western portion of which is situated in Emery County.

[2] Longtime readers of *Utah Historical Quarterly* will know that I have adapted my title from Monsignor Jerome Stoffel, "The Hesitant Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (Winter 1968): 41-62.

the state where the church established a settled presence. The first people of European descent to enter the area encompassed by the modern state boundaries were Spanish Catholics—two parties of explorers from Santa Fe led by Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera in the spring and fall of 1765. In their search for a fabulous mountain of silver north of the San Juan River, the Rivera parties became the first white visitors to the Anasazi ruins at Hovenweep, and perhaps the first to reach the Colorado River, which they may have crossed near the site of modern Moab.[3] (The much better known expedition of Dominguez and Escalante in 1776 followed the Rivera route approximately, but kept further east and did not enter Utah until reaching a more northerly point, near Jensen in northern Utah.)[4]

Subsequent visitors to the region over the next century were equally transient. Rock inscriptions by Catholic mountain man Denis Julien document an apparent trapping expedition in 1836 and (if the inscription there is authentic) a visit to modern Arches National Park in 1844. At about that time, mountain men and other traders opened up what was called the Old Spanish Trail through southeastern Utah from Santa Fe to southern California.

The first white settlers in southeastern Utah were Mormons, but even those hardy desert pioneers did not succeed on the first attempt. In characteristic Mormon colonizing fashion, the Elk Mountain Mission of 1855 was sent to establish an agricultural village and Indian mission at the site of modern Moab. Indian resistance to the settlers' incursion, however, proved more than the community could endure, and the project lasted only from June to September of the same year. Although the Mormon experience had demonstrated that organized colonies had been advantageous in similar settings with hostile neighbors or an inhospitable environment, in southeastern Utah, ironically, individuals historically had better success. By the late 1870s, various individuals and families moved into Moab Valley and established homesteads as similar individuals and small groups were doing further south along the San Juan River.[5]

The fabled Hole-in-the-Rock expedition of 1879-80, officially known as the San Juan Mission, established the first real Mormon community at Bluff in the spring of 1880, but even its precarious prospects were annually threatened by the savage San Juan River, the spring floods of which could not be easily contained. Real permanence came only with the establishment of the communities of Monticello and Blanding, and with a general

[3] Austin N. Leiby, "Borderland Pathfinders: The 1765 Diaries of Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera," (Ph.D. diss., Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University, 1984); G. Clell Jacobs, "The Phantom Pathfinder: Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera and His Expedition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Summer 1992): 200-23.

[4] Ted J. Warner, ed., *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976).

[5] Faun McConkie Tanner, *The Far Country: A Regional History of Moab and LaSal, Utah* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1976), chapters 3-4; Robert S. McPherson, *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1995), 96-97.

economic shift from agriculture to livestock in the rugged San Juan canyons.[6] Both before and during that shift, Catholics began establishing a permanent presence in the territory as well, in the persons of Hispanic herdsmen working for the Mormon ranchers and for stockmen in New Mexico who were attracted by the grazing potential of the region.[7]

A very different Catholic population helped create the town of Green River a few miles south of a natural river ford at Gunnison Butte. In 1883 the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad took advantage of the low river banks to establish a crossing, and the community that developed there became an important shipping point for livestock raised in the canyon country and for importation of mining supplies for prospectors for gold, oil, and eventually uranium. The town's diverse population of railroaders, prospectors, cowboys and sheepherders included a fair quotient of Catholics, though as things turned out, the transitory nature of those Green River residents retarded development of a settled Catholic presence there until far later than in other communities in the southeast.[8]

As the number of Catholics in southeastern Utah grew, the need to find some way to minister to their religious needs grew as well. During Utah's discovery and settlement period, jurisdiction over the sparse Catholic population had shifted among Santa Fe, Denver, Monterey and San Francisco, but with establishment of the Vicariate Apostolic of Utah in 1886 and especially of the Diocese of Salt Lake City in 1891 under Bishop Lawrence Scanlan, responsibility for the far flung field of southeastern Utah clearly rested upon Salt Lake City, roughly three hundred miles away.[9]

That imposing geographical gap was halved around the turn of the twentieth century by the establishment of a permanent Catholic presence in Carbon County. The area's rich coal deposits were first discovered in 1877, and by the time the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad reached Price in 1883, exploitation of that resource was well under way. The mining was done by an amazingly diverse population, mostly European immigrants: Greeks, Italians, Slavs, Finns, French, Welsh, and others. Although many of those from the British Isles and northern Europe were Mormon converts, those from eastern and southern Europe brought religious as well as cultur-

[6] David E. Miller, *Hole-in-the-Rock: An Epic in the Colonization of the Great American West* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959); McPherson, *A History of San Juan County*, 105-110. On the beginnings of the cattle business in Utah, see Don D. Walker, "The Cattle Industry of Utah: An Historical Profile, 1850-1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (Summer 1964): 182-97.

[7] William H. Gonzalez and Genaro M. Padilla, "Monticello, The Hispanic Cultural Gateway to Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (Winter 1984): 9-28.

[8] Edward A. Geary, "Green River," in Allan Kent Powell, ed., *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 236-37. Although, as we shall see, early visiting priests reported Catholics in Green River, no statistics for the community appear in any reports from the region to the diocese, as compiled in the accompanying table. It was not until 1967 that St. Michael the Archangel Mission was established there, served by priests from Price, then East Carbon City. Bernice Maher Mooney, *Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Church in Utah, 1776-1987* (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1987; second edition, 1992), 240-41 recounts the history of Catholicism in Green River.

[9] Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*, chapters 1-5.

SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

Msgr. Alfredo Giovannoni at Notre Dame School, Price, during the 1920s.

al diversity. For the most part, it was the large Italian population that became the backbone of the Catholic Church.[10]

Despite the rapid influx of Catholics, the church struggled to become established in Carbon County. The lengthy and arduous journey from Salt Lake City and the shortage of priests available for such a mission made it difficult for Bishop Scanlan to serve Carbon County communicants as he would have wished. During the 1880s and 1890s, Masses were celebrated in private homes, no doubt at infrequent intervals, by such visiting priests as the bishop could find, and sometimes by the bishop himself. In 1898 a church was built at Castle Gate, where Mass was celebrated monthly. Although the church burned in 1907, the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad had built a nondenominational chapel in 1899, where Masses continued until 1914, when St. Anthony of Padua church was erected in Helper.[11]

A turning point in the history of Catholicism in southeastern Utah occurred in 1917 when Bishop Joseph S. Glass assigned Rev. (later Monsignor) Alfredo F. Giovannoni to the Helper parish. As his biographer observes, "occasionally in an organization there appears one man whose life appears to sum up an entire era of its history," and Giovannoni's name is indelibly written on the history of the parishes and missions that fell under his direction. Born in the Tuscan city of Lucca in 1881 and ordained in

[10] Ronald G. Watt, *A History of Carbon County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Carbon County Commission, 1997), 202-5; Philip F. Notarianni, "Italianita in Utah: The Immigrant Experience," in Helen Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), 303-31; and Notarianni, "Utah's Ellis Island: The Difficult 'Americanization' of Carbon County," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring1979): 178-93. As Watt indicates, the immigrant population included a significant number of Japanese as well.

[11] Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*, 125; and Mooney, "The Americanization of an Immigrant, the Rev. Msgr. Alfredo F. Giovannoni," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (Spring 1992): 172-73; Stanley V. Litizzette, "St. Anthony's Catholic Church, Helper, Utah, Twenty-fifth Anniversary, 1945-1970," Archives of the Diocese of Salt Lake City (hereafter Diocesan Archives).

1904, Giovannoni became the first Utah priest to observe the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination before his death in 1961. Engaged to escort some nephews and nieces to Wisconsin in 1911, Giovannoni became concerned about the conditions among Italian immigrant workers in the United States and received permission to minister among them. After several pastoral assignments in Wisconsin, he came to Utah where Bishop Joseph S. Glass recognized in him the ideal pastor for the Carbon County Italians. He was to serve among them from 1917 to 1930, during which time he extended Catholic ministries into a vast pastoral jurisdiction that included everything from the Uinta Basin to the San Juan River.[12]

Although Giovannoni naturally regarded the Catholics of Carbon County as his primary ministry, he eagerly embraced the opportunity to serve Catholics wherever he found them within his vast area of responsibility. Something of the energy Giovannoni brought to his ministry is vividly apparent in his narrative of a visit to an old Catholic prospector (whose name he gives later as Pat Meehan) on the verge of death in an isolated cabin near LaSal. Upon receiving a telephone summons at 10:00 a.m., he set out immediately, driving over miserable roads for most of the day, until his engine began to knock from lack of oil. Rescued by a Mormon bishop with a wagon and team, he arrived in LaSal three hours later, "half frozen, stomach empty." Finding supper and lodging in the home of the woman who had called him, Giovannoni set out the next morning to find the sick man. After hearing the old prospector's confession and giving him the other appropriate sacraments, Giovannoni was surprised to see the man offer him his last dollar bill. Realizing how poor the man was, Giovannoni reached into his pocket and gave him all the money he had, including the dollar bill, which totaled $4.93. "I never in my life saw anyone crying for happiness as he did that morning," Giovannoni wrote, "and I cried with him."

A local garage repaired the faulty oil line on his car, agreeing to send the bill to the church office in Price. Giovannoni set out for home. Between Green River and Sunnyside, an immense storm washed out the road. He became stuck, and had to spend the night in the car. Someone came along in the morning and pulled him out, and he arrived home in Price "with two or three flat tires, I forget just how many." After a brief meal, he fell into bed and slept for eleven hours, dreaming "of the happiness that the sacraments of our holy religion had given to Pat Meehan of the sagebrush."[13]

[12] Mooney, "The Americanization of an Immigrant"; the quotation is from p. 168; Litizzette, "St. Anthony's Catholic Church," p. 8 gives the boundaries of Giovannoni's pastoral domain and his arduous Mass schedule.

[13] This narrative, both in Msgr. Giovannoni's hand and in typescript, is in the Notre Dame de Lourdes file, Diocesan Archives. The date of the trip is not given, but it would have been between 1918, when he moved from Helper to Price, and 1923, when the church at Price was completed, for he indicates that he was still living in the basement of the uncompleted church at the time.

Although Fr. Giovannoni covered as much as possible of the immense territory for which he was obligated, one man, even one as energetic and dedicated as he, could not hope to present a very frequent pastoral presence throughout its entirety. From time to time, beginning even before his arrival, various other priests sent out either by him or by the bishop made sporadic trips into the remote reaches of the southeast to bring pastoral care. They also undertook to collect information on the extent, the nature, and the distribution of the Catholic population. Their reports, which vary widely in depth and detail, nevertheless provide invaluable data on the hesitant growth of the Church on the Utah frontier.

Early Catholics at Monticello recall visits in 1915 by two priests: Fr. Raphael Ramos, whose point of origin is unrecorded, visited early in the year and performed the marriage of Guillermo and Cleofas Archuleta Mansanares, apparently the first Catholic marriage in that community. Somewhat later in the year, Bishop Glass sent Fr. Ramon Sanchez to the area.[14] One presumes that these priests visited the other communities where Catholics lived as well. The earliest written report by a visiting priest, however, comes from the hand of a Fr. J. Henry, who visited the parishes of Provo and Carbon County and journeyed as far as Green River in late 1915 or early 1916 in behalf of Bishop Glass, who himself was new to Utah, having arrived from Los Angeles to assume the Salt Lake episcopacy on August 24, 1915. Fr. Henry's report on the church at Provo and the various Catholic populations in Carbon County is brief but revealing, while his report on Green River is laconic: "There are about ten Catholic families at Green River. They are mostly Americans. There are a few Italians and Syrians [?]. No church. Very seldom have Mass. Americans good: all railroad men."[15]

Much more extensive is a report by Rev. Charles J. McCarthy, C.M., a priest of Dallas, Texas, whom Bishop Glass engaged somehow to journey through southeastern Utah in July 1921.[16] Fr. McCarthy took the train from Salt Lake City to Price where he was met by Msgr. Giovannoni who put him up for the night at the Tavern Hotel. In addition to showing the visiting priest the new church still under construction and his living quarters which impressed Fr. McCarthy ("I have seen worse places housing priests in Texas"), the two no doubt turned to a discussion of what the traveler could expect to find in the rural southeast. "To bed very late," McCarthy noted, in a revealing indication of the delight the gregarious but

[14] "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of St. Joseph's Church, Monticello, Utah, 1935-1985," in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[15] Report in Notre Dame de Lourdes file, Diocesan Archives.

[16] Bishop Glass was also a member of the Vincentian Order (Congregation of the Mission, designated by C.M.), which may have been the means through which he recruited Fr. McCarthy. The Order was founded in 1632 in France by St. Vincent de Paul to bring religious education to French peasants. Since then, their apostolate has expanded to general ministries to the poor and other roles. Fr. McCarthy's report, from which the quotes in the text are taken, is in the Notre Dame de Lourdes parish file, Diocesan Archives.

isolated Giovannoni must have found in a rare visit from a fellow priest. From there McCarthy continued on the train to Thompson, where he boarded an automobile which served as a stage service taking him as far south as Blanding, where he found no Catholics. On the basis of local informants, who maintained that "there were none but Mormons and non-descripts in Bluff," he decided not to visit that community.

At Green River, he reported, "there are quite a few families of Italians, a scattering of Americans, and some Mexicans working up and down the line for the D&RG. . . . Mass was said there on the 24 of July 1921 in the Gem Moving Picture theater for some forty souls, one Mr. Green a Mason kindly turning it over for use." The Catholic population at Thompson (one family of four) and Moab (County Treasurer Mr. Kelley, a Mrs. Gartz, and a Mrs. Strong) was very small. "Mass is said in the home of Mrs. Strong," he added, the present perfect tense indicating that it was an ongoing practice, however irregular or infrequent it may have been.

The largest concentration of Catholics encountered was at Monticello, where Fr. McCarthy counted some thirty people who received Holy Communion and seventeen children who made their First Communion. Other small groups of Catholics were noted at LaSal, Spring Creek, and Sego. His estimate of the total Catholic population in the region visited was 122.

Fully equal in value to his data on the Catholic population is his colorful description, mostly appended at the end of his report, on conditions of travel and accommodations in southeastern Utah at the time. At Moab, for example, "A hotel and restaurant offer lodging and food for a dollar the night and fifty cents the meal unless oil men happen to be plentiful. Then meals are six bits [seventy-five cents]."

A Welsh miner named Parks at the Buena Vista (Big Indian) mine between Moab and Monticello proved to be the most memorable character on the journey. Parks, "a real, old time prospector with a lurid faculty for blasphemy" greeted Fr. McCarthy when he approached the mess hall for some lunch while the car was being repaired. "No chance in the world," Parks indicated in McCarthy's paraphrase. "The mine was closed by the sheriff, didn't I see that, blowed up she was, and God was asked to sink in nether fires all and sundry fools for wasting so much good money on a new process for low grade copper. But in the brimstone blasts Welsh Parks discovered three eggs, asked God to sink them deep in hell, and threw them in a spider [a long-handled cast iron frying pan] in preparation for my noon-day meal. Jack [the driver], he, and I then sat down to potatoes, cold biscuits and loo-warm, [sic] weak tea, while we chatted of uranium, copper, silver, and gold, specimens of all which he showed me in the course of the meal out of a dirty tin can and a yet dirtier pocketbook."

Even that human encounter paled in comparison with the tribulations of riding in an open Buick through a torrential downpour the rest of the way into Monticello. "By this time I was pretty well spattered from head to

foot, tired, and sun burnt. The rain came on in torrents but I was lucky enough to have my raincoat along. This I donned and we again slid on picking our way slowly over ruts, high centers, and rapidly rising brooks[,] the while the rain beat upon us where there should have been a wind shield and made mud-pie puddles on the seats." In such a fashion, digging out of ruts, building up washed-out road, and skidding almost completely around once, did Catholicism come to Monticello.

Although written records are sparse, apparently visits by priests to southeastern Utah in the 1920s were not altogether infrequent, though at irregular intervals. A November 1922 report by Rev. (later Monsignor) Wilfrid J. Giroux documents a brief trip to Monticello that included visits to Moab, Thompson, and Sego, and mentions an earlier visit ("Conditions have not changed very much since our visit in August.").[17] Giroux's visit indicates Bishop Glass's ongoing concern for the Catholics in that remote corner of his jurisdiction.

A much longer visit to Monticello was accomplished in 1927-28 by a Los Angeles priest, Rev. Toribio Galaviz, who tells us he was recruited for that purpose by Bishop John J. Mitty.[18] After a ten day residency in the cathedral rectory in Salt Lake City, Fr. Galaviz set out for Price to get his instructions from Msgr. Giovannoni. By this time it was apparent to the Monsignor that Monticello held the largest concentration of Catholics in the southeast, so he told Fr. Galaviz to establish a headquarters and to minister to Catholics in other communities from there.

In Monticello the priest found a substantial and enthusiastic Catholic community, but one that had had the benefit of the sacraments only infrequently, so he immediately began a twelve day mission during which, in thrice-daily sessions, he gave instructions in Catholic doctrine to prepare people to receive baptism, confession, and communion. He must have been pleased with the results, for he reported that between twenty and thirty people attended the sessions, which culminated in six baptisms, thirty-five confessions, and fifty-three communions including three first communions. From there he went to LaSal, where he held a four day mission, to Moab for a mission of three days, and finally to Thompson for a mission of two days, all culminating in substantial numbers receiving various sacraments.

Msgr. Giovannoni was obviously pleased with Fr. Galaviz's report when the latter returned to Price at the end of the month, for he immediately ordered the priest to "return to Monticello and remain there until receiving a new order." Although his stay in Monticello lasted only from October 6, 1927 to April 13, 1928, Fr. Galaviz could be regarded as the first priest to have held a resident pastorate in the rural southeast.

[17] Rev. Wilfrid J. Giroux, "Report of Short Visit to Monticello, Moab, Thompson and Sego, Utah" (November, 1922), in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[18] "An Account of the Residence, in the Parish of Price, of the Rev. Toribio Galaviz," in Notre Dame de Lourdes file, Diocesan Archives. Mitty was Glass's successor in 1926.

This time Fr. Galaviz began collecting money not only to pay rent on the house which he had been using for classes and Mass, but also for construction of a permanent church. After collecting $45 for that purpose, he was informed that $100 had already been collected ten years previously. In a report to Msgr. Giovannoni on November 28, he indicated that in addition to that amount, "the most that can be subscribed is $300" and asked for instructions. Obviously a church could not be built for such a small sum, and apparently services continued in the rented building, which Fr. Galaviz refers to as "the church." Even that structure burned on January 22, 1928, though apparently it was repaired and continued to be used.

The culmination of Fr. Galaviz's temporary assignment in southeastern Utah came in April 1928. Although he returned to Price to assist Msgr. Giovannoni during Holy Week and Easter Sunday, he came back to Monticello on April 10 to prepare his people for a visit by both the monsignor and Bishop John J. Mitty, who would administer the sacrament of confirmation. He met the visitors outside the city on Thursday evening, April 12, and conveyed them to the hotel, after which they were greeted in the church by the Monticello Catholics. Following Mass the next day, the bishop confirmed twenty-six people in addition to forty-seven confessions and the same number of communions.

If the Giovannoni era in the rural southeast was a time of sparse Catholic populations, irregular availability of Masses and sacraments by visiting priests, and services held in movie theaters and private homes, the era of his successor, Rev. William Ruel (1930-41) saw the beginning of dedicated church buildings, resident priests, and regular availability of sacraments to outlying communities from the church base in Monticello. It was a tribute to Msgr. Giovannoni and the visiting priests sent by him and the bishops in Salt Lake City that they were able to pass on to Fr. Ruel a vibrant and growing Catholic population, created and nurtured under some very unpromising circumstances.

The Great Depression of the 1930s, which devastated rural Utah even more than most areas of the country, would seem to have been a poor time to be soliciting funds for church construction.[19] Indeed, despite their enthusiasm, the impoverished Catholics of the region would not have been able to raise such funds on their own. Fortunately, the Catholic Extension Society, which supports such projects in rural areas, gave a generous donation that enabled construction of a modest chapel in Monticello to begin in 1934. Erected on a stone foundation built by local stonemason Thomas Evans, it was a simple stucco structure built by local workers and dedicated by Bishop James Kearney on October 9, 1935.[20]

[19] On the ravages of the Great Depression in rural Utah, see Brian Q. Cannon, "Struggle Against Great Odds: Challenges in Utah's Marginal Agricultural Areas, 1925-1939," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Fall 1986): 308-27.

[20] "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of St. Joseph's Church."

Having a permanent church building was a great advance, but the people still had to be served by visiting priests for the next four years. It took a religious crisis that suddenly emerged in 1937 to persuade the new Bishop Duane G. Hunt to provide a resident pastor. A group of Pentecostal evangelists appeared in Monticello, "speaking Spanish and putting on considerable pressure," in Hunt's words, and before long an estimated one-third of the Monticello Catholics had been converted. "I became convinced," he went on, ". . . after visiting the place and talking with the pastor of Price, that it would be necessary to send a resident priest. I was warned that unless I did so, we would gradually and surely lose most of our Catholics."[21] Bishop Hunt visited Monticello in February, 1937; he installed Fr. John A. Sanders as pastor nine months later on November 27—a landmark date in southeastern Utah Catholic history.[22]

"The people were thrilled beyond words at the news of a permanent pastor for that region," Fr. Ruel wrote to Bishop Hunt. "They are very poor but their devotion to the priest will compensate much and what with a generous subsidy already obtained by you, any priest should be very happy to turn his zeal to advantage in such a post." Pending construction of a rectory, Fr. Ruel speculated that the owner of the Hyland Hotel, "a negligent Catholic by the way," could probably be persuaded to lodge Fr. Sanders, and even provide meals at the Hyland Café. Fr. Sanders would not find his ministry an easy one, Ruel added: "The priest's conduct will be under strict and critical surveillance but much devotion will be centered around him by the faithful people." Fr. Sanders could expect to "receive a warm welcome from the non-Catholic group also because of the ravages being made [on their members] by the Holy Rollers [Pentecostals]."[23]

Poor health limited Fr. Sanders's ministry in Monticello to a scant three years, but it was a productive period. For one thing, he built a three-room rectory of logs, attached to the rear of the church, a structure that caused him to be known as the "log cabin priest."[24] Spiritually his accomplishments were substantial as well, though he only partly answered the challenge of the Pentecostals. "The leakage [of converts] was stopped. That much at least has been accomplished," Bishop Hunt wrote. "However, my hopes to win back the fallen-away Catholics have not been realized. No headway has been made, insofar as I can judge, in reclaiming the apostates."[25] The years of necessary neglect and sporadic ministry were taking their toll in the face of

[21] Bishop Duane G. Hunt to Rev. Martin Knauff, CFM, April 9, 1941, in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[22] "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of St. Joseph's Church."

[23] Fr. William Ruel to Bishop Duane G. Hunt, September 28, 1938, in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[24] "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of St. Joseph's Church." Fr. Thomas Kaiser, who took up residence in that rectory in 1954, praised the comfort of the building, particularly the fireplace constructed by Fr. Sanders. "Beautiful fireplace, and really comfortable," he reminisced. "I really liked it." Monica Howa-Johnson, interview with Fr. Kaiser, June 7, 2002, copy in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[25] Hunt to Rev. Martin Knauff, April 9, 1941.

GIFT OF MSGR. JEROME STOFFEL TO THE UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

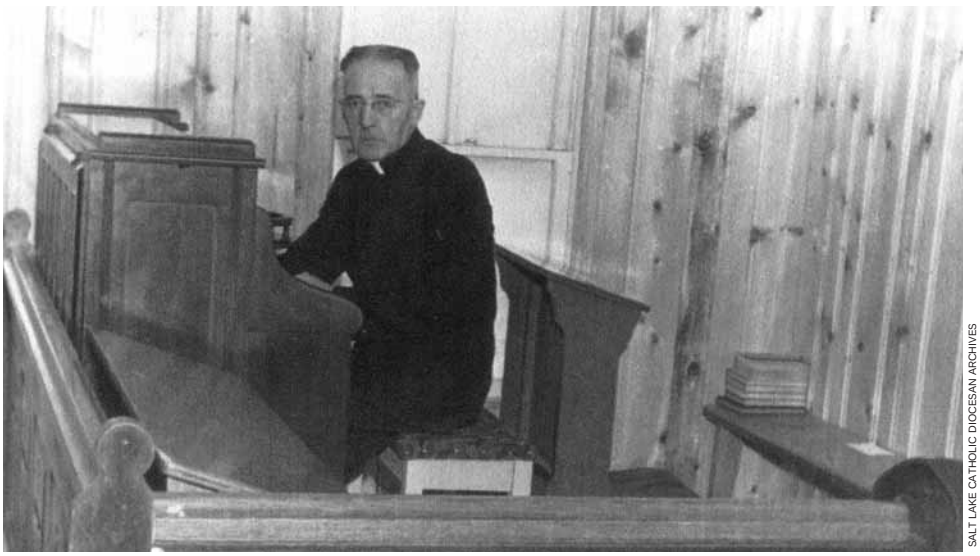
A confirmation class at St. Joseph's Church in Monticello.

the personal appeal and emotionalism of the Pentecostals. It was also becoming apparent that the Monticello Catholics' expectations had been raised: having a dedicated church building and a resident priest willing to work alone in an isolated environment were no longer enough, for it was now highly desirable that the priest be fluent in Spanish and experienced in ministry to American Indians as well. Those proved to be expectations that the church would only occasionally be able to meet.

At the time of Fr. Sanders's departure, the needs of the Monticello mission were daunting to Bishop Hunt. "I am coming to the conclusion," he wrote, "that I have no secular priest here at present time who is adequate to the problem."[26] Consequently he decided to apply to the missionary religious orders for help. The Franciscans were an obvious possibility, for they had long been working in the Navajo country, at St. Michael's, Arizona, and Shiprock, New Mexico. Although the Franciscans would eventually help out at Monticello, it was the Claretian order that immediately responded, offering to send two priests for a trial period of two years, for which Bishop Hunt agreed to provide financial support and a second-hand automobile. The priests were also to minister to Catholics in the nearby Civilian Conservation Corps camps. Two priests, Fr. Peter Caballe, C.M.F., and Fr. Boniface Mayer, C.M.F., arrived on June 4, 1941, to begin their work.[27]

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] The Claretian Order (Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary) was founded in Spain in 1849 by St. Anthony Claret for the purpose of catechizing and popular preaching after an anticlerical movement had largely suppressed other preaching Orders. From their beginnings in this country in 1902 they have directed their efforts toward founding missions and parishes among Spanish-speaking



SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

Father John A. Sanders at the organ in Sacred Heart Chapel at Sunnyside, ca. 1947.

The Claretian tenure at Monticello got off to a rocky start. For one thing, neither of the Hispanic priests were American citizens, and the CCC refused to grant a stipend for ministry in their camps to foreign nationals, so the order immediately replaced Fr. Mayer with Fr. John J. Uriarte, C.F.M., who was a naturalized citizen. Driving to Salt Lake City to drop off Fr. Mayer and pick up Fr. Uriarte, Fr. Caballe exhibited an imperfect understanding of automobiles by continuing to drive after the fan belt broke on the 1935 Chevrolet Bishop Hunt had given them. Of course the engine overheated badly, necessitating replacement of the cylinder head and valves, for which work the priests had no money. Bishop Hunt provided the funds and also mediated a minor dispute between Fr. Caballe and the Chevrolet dealer, whom the priest mistakenly blamed for having led him to believe the car could be safely driven back to Monticello without a functioning cooling system![28]

Americans. Fr. Eugene Herran, C.M. F. to Bishop Hunt, April 15, 1941; Hunt to Herran, April 30, 1941; Hunt to Fr. Stephen Emaldia, C.M.F., May 9, 1941, sets out the terms of his support; and Emaldia to Hunt, May 27, 1941, which contains Hunt's handwritten notation, "Arrived and faculties given June 4, 1941." Priestly "faculties" are in effect a license granted by a bishop to priests to administer the sacraments in his diocese. An interesting letter (April 29, 1941) also exists to Bishop Hunt from one of his predecessors, John J. Mitty, who had become Archbishop of San Francisco, and to whom Hunt had written for advice on the Monticello situation. For some reason, Mitty was suspicious of the eagerness with which the Claretians accepted the difficult Monticello assignment, and warned Bishop Hunt to be careful of making a financial commitment to them.

[28] Fr. Peter Caballe to Bishop Hunt, August 5, 1941, initiating an amusing series of letters among those two and the manager of Capitol Chevrolet in Salt Lake City, all of which are in the St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives. Not the least humorous aspect of the exchange is the broken English of Fr. Caballe's letters, upon which no one seems to have thought to blame a substantial part of the miscommunication. That old Chevrolet, unsatisfactory as it turned out to be, became a potential bone of contention between the Claretians and Bishop Hunt in 1943 when the Order's contract for the Monticello pastorate expired and the priests were withdrawn to Los Angeles. The Diocese of Salt Lake City had purchased the car, but

Other than such occasional frustrations, though, the Claretians seem to have enjoyed a happy and relatively successful tenure at Monticello. "We had no much difficulty [*sic*] in accommodating ourselves to our new field," Fr. Caballe wrote to the bishop in an undated letter soon after his arrival, and reported plans to add on to the rectory to provide privacy for both resident priests. "The people are cooperating very nicely, helping us the best the[y] can," he continued, and even ventured the optimistic observation that "Some holy rollers are doubting of their sect and soon will start back where they belong." In a later report he reinforced his judgment that "The people is very nice [*sic*] and they help us as much as they can, but they are very poor. For the rest I am glad and willing to work no matter how hard the circumstances may be."[29]

Nevertheless, upon expiration of their two-year contract for the Monticello ministry, the Claretians withdrew from the field. For over a decade to come, the Catholic presence in southeastern Utah became hesitant again, with periods of sporadic pastoral care by priests and with the untended flock sometimes tempted to fall away.

Immediately following the Claretians' departure, Bishop Hunt was fortunate to be able to attract the Franciscans to the area. This he did by appealing to the Cincinnati province of the order rather than the Los Angeles province which had previously turned him down. The Cincinnati province already had Franciscan friars working in Arizona and New Mexico and regarded southeastern Utah as a natural extension of their work. Fr. Bertrin Harrington and an unnamed Franciscan Brother (an unordained member of the order) were chosen for the assignment.[30]

Unfortunately, the Franciscan tenure at Monticello was not a particularly happy one. For one thing, the Catholic population in the area had drastically declined, presumably because of military enlistments for World War II and wartime employment opportunities elsewhere. And it proved difficult to raise enough money to support the priest and brother. Revenues from the chronically impoverished herdsmen who comprised the parishioners had always been small, and Bishop Hunt had found it necessary to raise outside monies to provide living expenses. In this case, twenty dollars per month came from the Catholic Extension Society, twenty-five from diocesan funds, and an additional fifty to seventy-five dollars from Mass stipends in

whether it had been given to the Claretians or simply provided for their use was ambiguous. It was Hunt's assumption and his request that the car would be returned to Salt Lake City, but the last Claretian at Monticello, Fr. Francis I. Aguirre, mistakenly drove it to Los Angeles. Recognizing the limited value of the car and wishing to avoid a conflict with the Claretians, Bishop Hunt simply signed the title over to them. Fr. Aguirre to Bishop Hunt, June 16, 1943; Fr. James F. Claffey (secretary to Bishop Hunt) to Fr. Aguirre, June 18, 1943; Fr. Donatus Larrea, C.M.F. to Fr. Claffey, March 9, 1944; Bishop Hunt, "Memorandum Concerning the Automobile Used by the Claretian Fathers in Monticello," undated. All documents in the St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

[29] Fr. Caballe to Bishop Hunt, undated and August 5, 1941. There is no evidence that the priests actually did ever make much headway in winning the Pentecostal converts back to the Catholic Church.

[30] Fr. Adalbert Rolfes, O.F.M. to Bishop Hunt, July 22, 1943.

the diocese.[31] It was hoped as well that the Office of Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians would provide some support, but a letter to Bishop Hunt from its director admitted deep skepticism about the likelihood of Fr. Harrington's success among the Indians of southeastern Utah, and it is unlikely that the project received much support from that quarter.[32]

At any rate, the Franciscans remained in residence at Monticello a scant two years, after which time the order deemed the Catholic population there to be too small to justify a continued resident pastor, and the two Franciscans were moved to Shiprock, New Mexico. Over the following year, a sporadic ministry to Monticello was conducted by Franciscan Father Elmer Von Hagel, who journeyed all the way from Shiprock, but eventually even that had to be discontinued.[33] Fr. Hagel's parting report was quite discouraging. "I find the work very disheartening," he wrote the bishop, "because first of all I lack a knowledge of Spanish, and secondly I am too far away to keep in close contact with the people. . . . Speaking very frankly, Your Excellency, I am afraid that unless a priest can stay at Monticello there will soon be a terrible falling away from the Faith." This time the threat was not visiting Pentecostals, but Mormon neighbors: "The children are not being instructed sufficiently in their religion to live among the Mormons and hold onto it." The rectory, furthermore, was in bad need of painting and repairs that would require an estimated one thousand dollars. "Frankly," he confided, "it is asking quite a bit of a man to live there permanently under present conditions." Fr. Von Hagel concluded that "If financial worries were removed through subsidy, and a person [priest] had a good command of the Spanish language, I think Monticello and its missions could offer a lot of interesting work."[34] Unfortunately for Bishop Hunt, both funds and Spanish-speaking priests were in short supply.

For the next few years, the Catholic Church in southeastern Utah barely clung to life. An appeal from Bishop Hunt to the Bishop of Pueblo, Colorado, succeeded in getting a priest of the Theatine Order from Durango assigned to Monticello for one Sunday Mass, but the property continued to deteriorate, and Hunt could only place it, beginning in 1943, under the care of a local parishioner, Mr. J. P. Gonzalez.[35] In a letter of thanks to the loyal layman, Bishop Hunt indicated something of the pathetic condition of the parish: "I think it would be well for you to have some one sleep in the house so as to watch it. Also, please gather the people

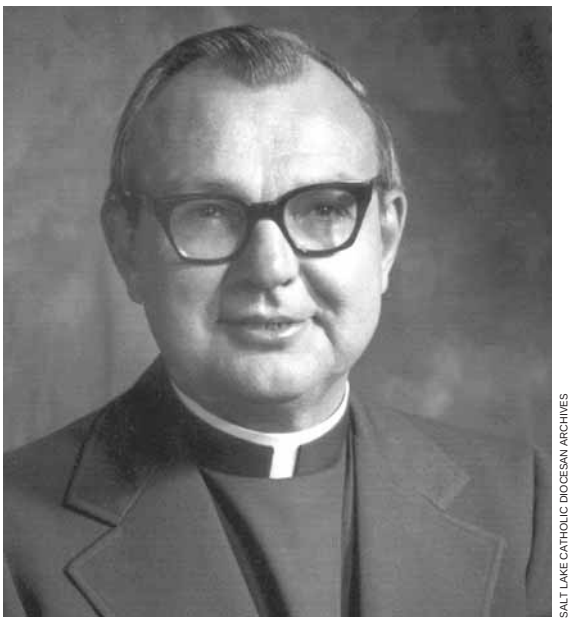
[31] A Mass stipend is a special donation to a priest to say a Mass for a particular purpose designated by the donor.

[32] Bishop Hunt to Fr. Rolfes, July 27, 1943; Fr. J. B. Tennelly, S.S. to Bishop Hunt, December 15, 1943.

[33] Fr. Romuald Mollaum, O.F.M. to Bishop Hunt, August 5, 1945, and April 7, 1946.

[34] Fr. Elmer Von Hagel, O.F.M. to Bishop Hunt, March 14, 1946.

[35] The Theatine Order (Congregation of Regular Clerics) was founded in Rome in 1524 among parish priests who sought a high standard of clerical piety and behavior as a reform of the infamous abuses within the late Medieval church.



SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

Father Thomas J. Kaiser.

together weekly and say some prayers, the Rosary and the Way of the Cross. Please explain my deep regret that they are neglected even for a few weeks."[36] Fr. John Sanders returned to Monticello, but only on a visiting basis, and the tentative presence of the church in the region is graphically indicated by the fact that no annual reports from southeastern Utah were filed with the diocese from 1946-53.[37]

Happily for the Catholic Church and the region itself, the postwar years were a boom time in southeastern Utah. As the world entered the Nuclear Age, it needed the uranium that was plentifully available there. And other resources were mined in the region as well: vanadium (an element used in hardening steel), oil, and even potash. Southeastern Utah became industrialized too, as factories for refining and processing ores economically near the mines were erected. All of these activities brought people into the region, including substantial numbers of Roman Catholics.[38]

The huge economic and demographic booms brought new life to the Catholic Church, but the church also was changed in profound ways. For one thing, it was much larger: from the "approx. 150" parishioners reported in 1944 to 307 in 1954, and slightly over 400 in 1955. Numbers like that could support a resident priest. That priest appeared in the person of the energetic Fr. Thomas J. Kaiser, ordained in 1949 at age twenty-five and sent to Monticello in 1954. Fr. Kaiser supervised renovation of both church and rectory at Monticello and construction of St. Pius X church at Moab, as well as extending the ministry of the church to Catholics as far away as Mexican Hat, Montezuma Creek, and Thompson.[39] One of the happiest

[36] Bishop Hunt to Bishop Joseph Willging, March 14, 1947; Bishop Willging to Bishop Hunt, March 18, 1947; J. P. Gonzalez to Bishop Hunt, June 22, 1943; Bishop Hunt to Gonzalez, July 1, 1943.

[37] Annual reports on standardized forms are available from every parish and mission in the state beginning in 1937 and filed in the Diocesan Archives.

[38] Richard A. Firmage, *A History of Grand County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Grand County Commission, 1996); chapters 12 and 13 are especially good on postwar economic and demographic changes, but see also McPherson, *A History of San Juan County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and San Juan County Commission, 1995), chapters 8 and 11.

[39] On Fr. Kaiser's life and ministry in Grand and San Juan Counties, see Monica Howa-Johnson, interview with Fr. Kaiser, June 7, 2002, copy in St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives.

SALT LAKE CATHOLIC DIOCESAN ARCHIVES

Sacred Heart Mission at LaSal, 1961.

stories in the enlarged and energized Catholic community, and one with a nice ecumenical dimension, took place at LaSal, where a small but steady population of Catholics had been served by the priests at Monticello. Prompted by Fr. Kaiser in 1957, Mormon livestockman Charles H. Redd donated an old bunkhouse for weekly Masses, then in 1958 donated a tract of land for erection of a permanent chapel.[40]

As Moab became a magnet for miners during the uranium boom, its population growth outstripped similar expansion in other communities in the region. Accordingly, with construction of the spacious and modern St. Pius X church in Moab, Fr. Kaiser made it the hub of Catholic pastoral ministries in the area and turned St. Joseph's in Monticello over to Fr. James C. Coyne, then Fr. John Rasbach in 1959. Bishop Hunt had suggested this move years previously, citing the generally more gentle climate of Moab in the winter, but now the population shift added weight to the idea. Donation of a two acre tract of land by the Utex Exploration Company was also an attractive incentive to build in Moab. Fr. Rasbach lived in Moab and drove to Monticello for Masses, an arrangement that led at least one disgruntled Monticello parishioner to complain about priestly absenteeism.[41] The fact was, despite such complaints, that Monticello was enjoying closer pastoral care than it had had in over a decade, and although the parish has subsequently had resident priests, it is at this writing served by the priest at Moab. St. Pius X was accorded the status of parish in 1957.[42]

Finally, the population boom had changed, quite literally, the complexion of the church in southeastern Utah. From the heavily Hispanic population of St. Joseph's in the 1930s and 1940s, which had almost necessitated Spanish-speaking priests, the church of the 1950s was just as heavily Anglo with only a smattering of Hispanic members. By about 1960, one could say that the hesitant beginnings of the Catholic Church in southeastern Utah had ended, and the church had become well established. The church was

[40] Erla Lovato, "Sacred Heart Church: A Dream Come True," MS in St. Pius X file, Diocesan Archives. See also "Commemoration of the 5th Anniversary . . ." and Mooney, *Salt of the Earth*, 457.

[41] Mrs. J. M. Thayer to Bishop Joseph L. Federal, October 10 and November 2, 1960, St. Joseph's file, Diocesan Archives. On the Utex donation, see Mitchell Melich to Bishop Hunt, August 24, 1954, St. Pius X file, Diocesan Archives.

[42] Bishop Hunt to Fr. Kaiser, January 11, 1957.

based on a new group of people, but a people no less proud of their Catholic identity than the ones who had made up the church during its struggling years. Although the subsequent history of southeastern Utah would see economic hard times and demographic fluctuations, and although the Catholic population would continue to exist in small groups in remote communities, pastoral care was regular and permanent, and administered by resident priests.

The following table is my compilation of data from those annual reports on church participation, age, and ethnic background as well as the location of Catholic communities during what I define as the pioneer or mission period of the church in southeastern Utah. The consistency and even the existence of this data is uneven because, as the text of this article indicates, pastoral care was sporadic, and also because various priests exercised various degrees of diligence in compiling the reports. Nevertheless, even when the focus is not as sharp as we might like, I believe the data gives a useful picture of the nature of the Catholic population in the region during this early era of struggle and development.

Catholic Population, Southeastern Utah, 1938-1960

1938

Ave. at Mass—-65

1939

Town	P	N	A1		H	
			A	C	A	C
Monticello	100	35	1		80	54
Blanding	11				8	3
LaSal	10				10	
Moab	6				4	2

1940

Total—202

Ave. at Mass—50

Town	P	N	A1		H	
			A	C	A	C
Moab	9	9	7	2	3	2
Blanding	14	14	9	6	7	6
Monticello	50	100	10	20	34	66
LaSal	28	18	10		18	10

1941

Total—126

Ave. at Mass—50-55

1942

Monticello	123
Blanding	38
Allen Canyon	5
LaSal	33
Moab	10
Thompson	18
Cisco	19
Westwater	14
Sego	40

1943

Monticello	120
Blanding	30
Allen Canyon	10
LaSal	35
Moab	10
Thompson	15
Cisco	20
Westwater	15
Sego	30
[Other places]	25

1943 [?]

Town	P	N	A1		I		H		B		P	N	A1		I		H	
			A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C			A	C	A	C	A	C
Monticello	55	92	6	3			76	62			44	15					30	29
Blanding	10	18					13	15			16	1					7	10
LaSal	27	3					19	11			27	3	3	4	8	5		
Sego	3	22	3	4	8	5			2	3	3	17	3				3	1
Moab		7	3				3	1				7	3				3	1

1944

1945

Total—"Approx 150"

Town	P	N
Monticello	50	
LaSal	12	
Blanding	11	5
Sego	2	2
Moab		5

1946-1953

No Records reported

1954

Moab total parishioners—307

1955

Town	P	N	A1		H	
			A	C	A	C
Monticello	200	21	105	106	6	
Moab	116	9	59	62		
Blanding	20	6	10	16		
LaSal	2		2			
Thompson	30	5	15	15		

1956

P	N	A1		H	
		A	C	A	C
100	70	56	108	6	0

(Total parishioners 184 Ave. Mass 100)

1957

Total parishioners 187 Ave. at Mass 100

1958

Town	P	N	A1		H	
			A	C	A	C
Monticello	114	76	76	109	5	
Blanding	20	2				
Bluff	11	10	3	8		
Mexican Hat	8		3	5		
Moab	185	31	144	126		
Thompson	3	3				
LaSal	32	16				
El Paso Gas Camp						
Montezuma Creek						
Castle Valley						

1959

P	N	A1		H	
		A	C	A	C
68	45	12	15	31	55
5		2	3		
2	3	1	1	1	3
2	4	2	4		

Total parishioners—203

2	5	2	5		

1960

P	N	A1		H	
		A	C	A	C
30	44	12	15	16	31
5	1	2	3		
2	3	1	1	1	2
2	4	2	4		
224	71	117	162	6	10
2		2			
2	5	2	5		
4		2	2		

Note: A= Adult C= Child P= Practicing N= Nominal A1=Anglo H=Hispanic I=Italian B=Basque

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Community and Memory in Grouse Creek

By KRISTEN SMART ROGERS

In the depths of the American experience lies a craving for peace, unity, and order within the confines of a simple society...[and] a willingness to exclude whatever men and to ignore whatever events threaten the fulfillment of that hunger," writes historian Kenneth Lockridge.[1] Perhaps this is true. Unfortunately, however, conflict, divisiveness, and chaos plague all human societies. Consequently, although we may indeed hunger for an uncomplicated world, we often must satisfy our craving by turning to memory. Instead of seeking to understand the complex truth about the past and the present, we find it easy to look back and remember a simpler, more unified time. The resulting "heritage" discourse (whether embodied in family stories, legends, community histories, heritage events, or nostalgia-based crafts and marketing) reconfigures the past to fulfill deep longings. Consider as an analogy the posed, misty-looking photos marketed as

The Grouse Creek Ward Sunday School inside the old log meeting house, ca. 1894.

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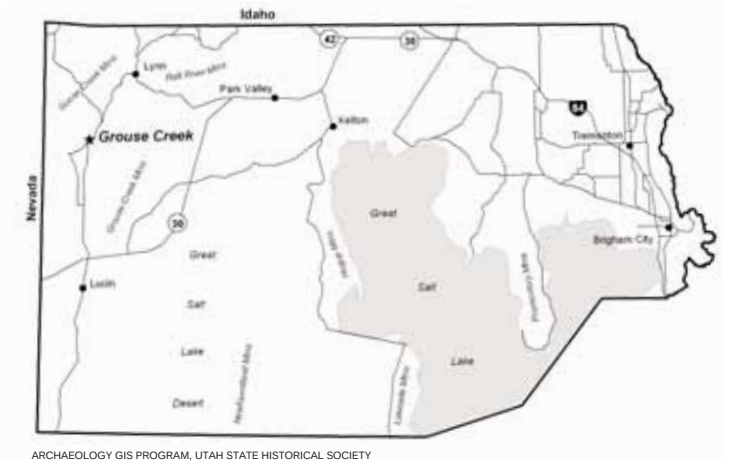
[1] Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town the First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachussetts, 1636-1736* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970), 169.



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Map of Box Elder County in northwestern Utah showing the Grouse Creek area.

"historical" images. Just as these photos do, "heritage" discourse softens the hard edges of experience and inspires sentimental emotions.

Of course, narratives of a past Eden also require a "Fall." In stories of the Fall, the idyllic past falls victim to external forces such as mechanization, big business, and the coming of outsiders. Stories of the past, then, become stories of loss. They seek to explain why "peace, unity, and order" vanished. Yet while these stories may accuse outside forces of causing disharmony, they may fail to recognize the effects of internal forces—for instance, the tension between community and individualism. In fact, individualism is one of the factors that makes the peaceful, orderly past of memory a logical impossibility in reality. No status quo, idyllic or otherwise, can remain intact as people have families, migrate, seek new experiences, and try to better their circumstances. In fact, the search for economic growth by both individuals and communities directly assaults the status quo, bringing a stronger dependency on outside forces and more complex economic and political relationships.

A narrative of a lost, happier past runs through a series of oral histories on Grouse Creek, Utah, recorded in the 1970s and '80s by Verna Kimber Richardson, a native of Grouse Creek. Richardson's questions imply that she recognized a change in the nature of the Grouse Creek community between its early years and the time of the interviews. In the transcripts, both questions and answers remember—and thus shape—a past of unity and order.[2] And they seek to explain the loss of that past.

Grouse Creek was settled in the late 1870s. Unlike the pioneers of most early Utah towns, its settlers did not relocate out of obedience to leaders of

[2] Dean May identifies unity and order as prime values in Mormon communities. Folklorist-historian Thomas Carter contends, however, that some scholars have over-emphasized the cooperative nature of Mormon communities. See Dean May, The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as Setting for the Study of Cultural Change, semi-final draft, n.d., MS A2221, 2-3, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City (USHS), and Thomas Carter, notes to author, October 2001, in USHS files. Copies of the oral histories are located at USHS, MS B221. Twenty-three interviews are included in the collection. Verna Richardson conducted twenty of these and Jay Haymond conducted three, including interviews with Verna Richardson.

the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Instead, these individuals saw in the "unoccupied" land (Shoshones and Goshutes had of course inhabited the land for generations) an opportunity to better themselves economically. Each chose to leave more densely populated areas to settle Grouse Creek. For the most part, they established scattered farmsteads and ranches instead of clustering together in a central town and began individually to pursue economic success. Despite their individual motivations, within a few years the settlers had established a society that mirrored cooperative aspects of earlier Mormon towns.[3] Under the direction of local church leaders, they built infrastructure and organized a water company. They had to rely largely on each other, rather than on governmental or other institutions, for education, health care, recreation, welfare assistance, and a variety of such essential tasks as funeral preparations. The situation finds parallel in small towns generally and in some Utah towns in particular. In Alpine, Utah, writes historian Dean May, interactions and mutual help constructed a "web of obligation and attachment that held most emotionally and physically to the town."[4]

Although the town remains isolated and small to this day, the self-contained society the residents created had inevitably changed by the time the oral histories were recorded in the 1970s and '80s. The nature of memory is such that, although informants recognized change, their narratives could not explain the entire truth about the transition. Neither can this article. But it can explore the patterns of memory and the remembered Grouse Creek—which, of course, differs from the actual, lived Grouse Creek of the early twentieth century. Each of the statements presented here—as in any oral history, memoir, or journal—is an abstract of someone's interpretation of the past *at a certain moment*, and must be read as such. Moreover, these memories and interpretations have been influenced by a host of factors, including the interview process itself.

As a subject for the study of community transitions and memory, Grouse Creek is unusual, if not unique. The fact that the area was settled at a later date than many Utah towns means that the older informants could remember most of the town's lifespan. Its extreme isolation (in the northwest corner of Utah, twenty miles from the nearest paved road, the long and lonesome Highway 30) delayed and influenced the development of its connections with mainstream American culture. This is not to say that American culture and technology were not intensifying factors in the town's process of change; the fact that the town underwent its shift away from societal self-containment during the twentieth century (long after

[3] See Hamilton Gardner, "Communism among the Mormons," typescript of copy of article printed in *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 37: 134-137, PAM 2483, USHS, for a discussion of the unique circumstances that led to this type of community in Utah.

[4] Dean L. May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850-1900* (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 230, 248.

most Utah towns had experienced this shift) created an interesting dynamic in Grouse Creek. Finally, the small size of the population likely intensified the informants' emotional investment in the community.[5]

But in a significant sense Grouse Creek is not unusual. Like communities of all times and places, it has undergone disorienting change as economic and social forces have affected values, landscapes, relationships, and institutions. The Grouse Creek experience resembles that of the early Mormon towns. These towns were founded, ideologically at least, on devotion and cooperation—but these spiritual and social ideals could not survive unscathed the influence of outside pressures, individual aspirations, dwindling land availability, political realities, and the changing emphases of the institution around which the towns were organized, the LDS church.

In turn, the development of the early Mormon towns bears some resemblance to early New England, where similar forces challenged the structure of Puritan society. Ironically, as historian Helena Wall points out, the community patterns that the towns in Puritan America sought to reproduce were at the time dying out in Europe.[6] Similarly, early Mormon towns sought to resurrect some of those ideals long after Puritan towns had been displaced. Grouse Creek repeated the process. The early community patterns of many Mormon towns were dwindling when the first Grouse Creek residents incorporated some of those patterns into their own community structure.

The first settlers in Grouse Creek came from Tooele and Henefer, many of them as young families. Most were either immigrants from Great Britain or were of British descent.[7] All had left the settled areas of Utah in search of better agrarian opportunities; although in other parts of Utah settlers had already claimed the best lands, the Grouse Creek area still offered land for the taking and a near-virgin range. So from the start the community had a strong basis of shared background and purpose. With this background as a foundation, several key factors created cohesion. Elmer Kimber had a simple, two-pronged explanation for the tight-knit nature of the community: "They were all church members and they were all poor."[8]

Though his assessment generalizes a complex past—not everyone was poor, and not everyone was Mormon—poverty was common in the early years. Most of the first settlers lived in dirt-roofed cabins or dugouts: "We passed thru many hardships, living in dugouts [and] leaky log houses," wrote settler Philip Paskett in his memoir. "We had many season of drouth,

[5] For histories of Grouse Creek, see Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *History of Box Elder County* (n.p., n.d., c. 1936), 297-300; Philip A. Paskett, "History of Grouse Creek, Utah," n.d., MS A1807, USHS; Frederick M. Huchel, *A History of Box Elder County* (Brigham City: Box Elder County Commission and Utah State Historical Society, 1999), 345-46.

[6] Helena M. Wall, *Fierce Communion: Family and Community in Early America* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1.

[7] See histories, above, and 1880, 1900, and 1910 U.S. Census manuscripts.

[8] Elmer Kimber, interview by Verna Richardson, August 20, 1974, 4, MS B221, USHS.

which hindered our progress temporally, but we held meetings, and attended other Church duties."[9] Mary Hadfield Betteridge remembered seeing this shared poverty graphically when she entered the valley in 1900. "Oh, my goodness, oh...I thought I'd gone to the end of the world.... When I saw the first house there, they told me that was a house, I couldn't see any house. As I went on…the houses were all the same till I got to Will Betteridge's," which she liked better.[10]

But if poverty was a unifying factor, religion was more so: The LDS church provided both tangible and intangible structure to the community. Especially through the potent leadership of Bishop David H. Toyn, the church became the framework for community order and provided behavioral control, sociality, emotional support, thus creating interdependency. Toyn, who presided over the town from 1895 to 1916, seems to have had the creation and preservation of a unified, ordered community as his own primary goal, if his 1896-99 diary and the recollections of his flock are any indication.[11]

In the early Grouse Creek of memory, the community and church were synonymous. Informants identified religion as the town's most important characteristic, a force that unified people and defined them as individuals and as a group. When asked if a man named Dale Hart did anything " community-wise," an informer responded that "No, he wasn't in the church at all"—implying that one could not "do anything community-wise" if one was not a Latter-day Saint.[12]

This statement counterpoints Kimber's assertion that "They were all church members." If not everyone in the actual Grouse Creek was a church member, who were "they"? "They" were the unified population of the remembered (as opposed to the actual) Grouse Creek before the "Fall." Those who did not fit into the category of "church member" and "poor" occupied only marginal places in the narratives except, as will be seen, in connection with the Fall.

The remembered church was a gravitational force in a group pulled outward by geography—a ridge separates the "west creek" from the "east creek" (which is now called Etna)—and by its economic basis in ranching. Although some ranchers/farmers strung their properties fairly close together

[9] Philip Andrew Paskett, Autobiography and Diary, February 1, 1924, MS A1784, USHS.

[10] Mary Elizabeth Hadfield Betteridge, interview by Richardson, March 16, 1976, 4. Perhaps not coincidentally, Mary ended up marrying William Betteridge.

[11] Obituary, David H. Toyn, *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 30, 1938; David H. Toyn, diary, photocopy of holograph in MS A1895, USHS. Toyn was born in 1847. According to Paskett, "History," 8, Toyn was made presiding elder of the town in 1895 and bishop in 1896. Grouse Creek has never been incorporated, and according to Verna Richardson, the LDS bishop has remained the most important spiritual and secular governing force; Verna Richardson, telephone conversation with author, May 1, 2001.

[12] Harriet Tanner, interview by Verna Kimber Richardson, June 3, 1982, 58. This identification of church and community was true in nearby communities as well. Amanda (Mandy) Paskett remembered a time she and her husband contracted to cut hay in Montello, Nevada. When George and Mandy Paskett went to church there, the people "drove them out," saying it was a community church and the Pasketts were not welcome there; Amanda Tanner Paskett, interview by Verna Richardson, December 3, 1973, 22.

to form a "line village," others lived on isolated ranches.[13] Informants spoke of living far from the nearest neighbor and feeling solitary and lonesome. "We were so busy and far apart," said one resident. "Half the time you couldn't carry on very well."[14] But the church's "hall," located within the clustered town on the east creek, was a spiritual and social center that helped counterbalance the scattering.

Before the present standard-plan LDS meetinghouse was erected in Grouse Creek in 1984, the hall went through four community-built incarnations, all of which characterize the town's cooperative activities.[15] In 1882 the settlers of the fledgling community met to discuss building a meetinghouse and set a date for "us all to turn out and go to the cañon for the logs."[16] Then in 1890 the ward members built a new hall, twenty by thirty-five feet. Interestingly, those who used it called it the Social Hall; its use as a church seems to have been secondary. In 1897 the group discussed enlarging it, and Bishop Toyn and his counselors canvassed the community to get donations of logs. There followed an intense period of construction. On January 31, Toyn wrote, "We the Bishopric are going to commence work on the hall the most that we will do will be to get ready for the work." The next day he went to the hall and gathered tools for the men so they would not be idle when they came the following day. That night the bishop sat up with the Tanner family's sick baby in order to relieve the exhausted parents, but he still went to the hall the next day. "The men was waiting for us to put them to work I did not come home but stoped there at the Hall all day and commenced the work on the Hall. Bro Richins went home to bed Bro W Paskett came at noon there was ten of us at work." For the next thirty-four days he worked on the hall, helped by varying numbers of men, and at the end wrote, "we done well." A children's dance held on March 12, to try out the new floor, "was a time long to be remembered."[17]

Informants fondly remembered dances, school plays, and a community library in this old log hall. Then in 1912 Bishop Toyn organized the ward to replace it with a new meetinghouse built of native sandstone. In this building, dances and other community events took place in the basement social hall; the main floor was used for church services.[18]

Although some informants might point to the LDS church as a major source of unity, the church-sponsored dances, much more than actual

[13] Thomas Carter and Carl Fleischauer, *The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey: Integrating Folklife and Historic Preservation Field Research* (Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1988), 26. The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey was conducted by a team of folklorists and preservation historians who studied the architecture and folkways of the area in the 1980s and made insightful observations about the town's Mormon ranching culture.

[14] Mabel Warburton Richins, interview by Verna Richardson, April 17, 1974, 20.

[15] As in many other Mormon buildings, the present standard-plan building is symbolic of the forces for homogenization and mainstreaming that have affected Grouse Creek.

[16] Philip Andrew Paskett, Autobiography and Diary, September 3, 1882, MS A1784, USHS.

[17] Toyn, diary, January 14–March 12, 1897.

[18] See Paskett, "History of Grouse Creek," 9.

church meetings, made the "hall" the symbolic and actual center of the remembered town. Although Toyn, writing contemporaneously, never missed mentioning Sunday meetings in his diary (invariably commenting on the attendance, which was often low) the oral histories of sixty or seventy years later hardly mention church meetings. Dances, though, have great significance in the narratives of the Grouse Creek informants. In a narrative of community closeness, spirituality, and order, the dances become crucially symbolic.

In his role as a community-builder and preserver, Toyn was "one grand man," an informant said. The bishop considered celebrations of all kinds essential to the community, another commented. "Bishop Toyn was very, very strict on having the celebrations.... He wanted to see that these different reunions and dates of pleasure [took place].... Dances...maybe once a week.... That was Bishop Toyn's ruling, we had the dance."[19] As a caller at most of the dances that he had decreed, the bishop enacted his larger community role on a smaller scale. He took his dance-calling responsibility seriously, one time mentioning that he went to call even though he was sick. He took pleasure in his people's pleasure: "All seemed to injoy themselves," he noted often. "I done all the calling." In his later years, he sat on a side bench while he called the figures, with "a long white beard and a tambourine and he'd call and sing and hit the tambourine on his knee and then his head and swing it and they really did dance." Elmer Kimber remembered that one time the only music the dancers had was Bishop Toyn whistling and beating on a tin can—a poignant image of one man's efforts to foster order and community using the resources at hand.[20]

As remembered, the dances both symbolized and nurtured order and community. Everyone danced together, young and old, and no one was allowed to hesitate or hold back. Certain community members took upon themselves a unifying role. "There was some older ladies there that seen that I got to dancing," said Winfred Kimber. "Mag Hales...was extra good that way with us young fellows.... She never rested very long if she seed me sitting on a bench before she had something a moving." The result: "Why it pulled us together. These parties, well, to be the extreme the other way you isolate yourself for a while and everybody's out of step but you."[21]

Kimber's memory leaves out those who were not pulled together into the dance. One young woman, a friend of Verna Richardson's, stopped

[19] David James Cooke, interview by Richardson, March 11, 1978, 26; Valison Tanner, interview by Verna Richardson, August 22, 1973, 30. Toyn reports in his diary a discussion with his counselors about the welfare of the ward, which led, perhaps inevitably, to the decision to have a concert and dance and to organize a choir. The bishop also ruled that each Saturday afternoon should be a holiday for the hard-working farm and ranch families. The people generally obeyed. See Toyn, diary, February 3, 1898, and Winfred Charles Kimber, interview by Jay M. Haymond, October 16, 1973, 2.

[20] Toyn diary, January 22, 1897, April 1, 1898; Rhea Paskett Toyn, interview by Richardson, October 21, 1973, 9; Elmer Kimber, interview by Richardson, August 20, 1974, 3.

[21] Winfred Charles Kimber, interview by Jay Haymond, October 16, 1973, 3.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, COURTESY NOLA RICHINS KIMBER

Grouse Creek Main Street in the early 1900s.

going to the dances in the 1940s because she didn't get asked to dance often. That isolated her from her friends, who often talked about the dances and what they would wear. As a result, this young woman had no desire to return to Grouse Creek after she left to attend high school.[22]

Despite those who did not feel a part of the community, the dance nevertheless filled a large symbolic/mythic function. According to memory, dances ensured that everyone—although they may not have seen each other often—remained in step with the rest of the community. Maybe it was partly this connection with others that seemed to rest people as they danced energetically after a week's worth of hard physical labor. Verna Richardson remarked in her own interview that when she went into what she called the "outside world" she did not like the dances there; dancing with only one partner did not seem friendly to her.[23]

The community took "being in step" seriously, according to informants. Dance managers "kept order on the dance floor, seen that no one was dancing out of order." If anyone was waltzing, for instance, the manager "was supposed to run them off the floor."[24] Later, waltzing was allowed, but "not too close."[25] "I remember [at the Turkey Trot] one night they called my husband down on one of the dances because he...was...shaking his shoulders, or doing something that they thought was just a little bit out of order," said Amanda (Mandy) Paskett. After that, the bishop appointed her husband as dance manager, and then "Anybody did anything he'd see them and he'd straighten them out."[26] Another time, Bishop Toyn shut down a dance because "they was jogging a bit or something….He just closed it right down, and we all went home. It wasn't a bad dance, but it was something new that had just come out, and you mustn't dance it."[27] These

[22] Verna Richardson, telephone conversation with author, May 1, 2001.
[23] Verna Richardson, interview by Jay Haymond, June 19, 1985, 41.
[24] William Charles Kimber, interview by Verna Richardson, May 10, 1974, 26.
[25] Rhea Toyn interview, 10.
[26] Amanda Paskett interview, December 3, 1973, 11.
[27] Mabel Richins interview, 27, 85.

comments about dance controls seem to imply no criticism or complaint: The controls are seen as an inherent part of the idealized remembered community, a place where everyone "danced"—interacted—with everyone else according to ecclesiastically defined rules of order.

That a new dance would not be allowed demonstrates a certain conservatism within the town.[28] Resistant toward outside forces and change, the remembered Grouse Creek carried a strong sense of identity: Grouse Creekers were unique. They were special. The fact that after a generation or so almost everyone shared both experiences and relatives contributed to this attitude. Isolation, of course, was a big factor in creating a sense of unique identity; residents did not see many strangers.[29] In the early days it took four days to get to Salt Lake City by team and buggy. Taking the train from the railroad station at Lucin cut down travel time to the "outside world," but the trip to the station was still long and arduous over a rough dirt road. Interestingly, though, when in the late 1970s residents talked about improving the dirt road between the town and the highway, they decided to leave it alone; they did not want "everyone coming in."[30]

"It seemed like we were satisfied with what we had," Rhea Toyn reported. "It just seemed like we were a little community isolated off by ourselves, and we enjoyed it.... There was unity, enthusiasm, and you always kept busy." Another informant remembered being told that when Soil Conservation workers came in to educate farmers about different methods, the farmers resisted. They felt that "we can do it on our own and don't bother us." The traditional Grouse Creek ways were just fine.[31]

Some of the town's conservatism showed up when Charles Kimber and others set out to bring in a telephone system. Mabel Richins remembered a minor fracture in the town's unity: Some residents, concerned about costs, did not cooperate, saying that they had no need for a phone. But after it was installed in 1911, residents learned to depend on it. Before the phone, communication between the scattered homes had meant hitching up a team to a buckboard or saddling a horse. "It was unhandy."[32] However,

[28] Dance conservatism was a cultural trait in Mormon Utah, though new dances eventually became accepted. Grouse Creek was somewhat behind other towns in its liberalization of dance rules. For a discussion of dance in Utah, see Craig Miller, *Social Dance in the Mormon West* (Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 2000).

[29] On shared relatives, see Verna Richardson, interview by Jay Haymond, July 23, 1976, 56. Some found strangers fascinating and—strange. Whenever a new teacher arrived, the children "all had [their] heads on backwards in Sunday School" looking at the newcomer; see Elmer Kimber interview by Richardson, January 31, 1982, 52. Verna Richardson said that outside teachers were "celebrities"; according to her memory, seventeen schoolteachers married into the town; telephone conversation with author, May 1, 2001.

[30] Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 3-4. On travel to Salt Lake City, see for example Toyn diary, September 28—October 2, 1896. Automobiles have cut down travel time, of course, but, as Rhea Toyn said, residents still must miss half a day's work to "go anywhere," and they don't get home until "two in the morning"; Rhea Toyn interview, 31.

[31] Rhea Toyn interview, 13; Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 4.

[32] Mabel Richins interview, 20; "First Grouse Creek Telephone Line—Built in 1911," MS A1859, 2, USHS. According to Winfred Kimber, when electricity came to town in 1951, installation of the electric

the phone system offset the isolation of the ranches. It made Grouse Creekers more a part of each other's lives, connecting families in an intimate, sometimes intrusive way, and it became an integral part of the community.

The telephones meant more than quick communication; they changed the structure of the community and its interactions. Every family had a different ring assigned, and if someone wanted to listen in on another's conversation, "Why, you could quietly take the receiver down." Dozens would listen to conversations, and people felt free to "chime in" with their own comments. "You knew everybody's business." Interestingly enough, the system that tied people together excluded the outside world at the same time, if only symbolically; the town had no long distance until the mid-1960s.[33]

Knit even more tightly together by this intimate, closed network of telephone lines, the residents became even more of a clan. "We were Grouse Creekers, and that was it, you know," Verna Richardson said. "Grouse Creek was fine, and I was fine, and everyone else was fine, and we never did really quite think that the city was as good or other communities was as good a place to live." She later said, "We were in a little cocoon and we emerged from it once in a while but we were always glad to get back in...and shut everyone else out that was unfamiliar to us." The town was "one big family."[34]

But the fondly remembered quality of unity had another side: Those who differed from the norm might be singled out. For instance, during the 1940s the children mildly tormented a lawyer named Ernest Dunn whenever he walked up to town. Since he had no wife or children, no connections to any town families, and no affiliation with the LDS church, he did not fit the normal profile. Likewise, whenever "someone did something odd it was never forgotten; it was played on and played on for years." "Don't pull an Ern Dunn on me," someone might tease another. The fact that Dunn was again singled out for this example of teasing perhaps emphasizes the man's outsider status.[35]

A woman from the "outside world" who married a Grouse Creek man remembered the town from the perspective of one who never felt accepted. She herself recognized that her own personality may have colored her perceptions, but she commented,

lines destroyed the old telephone lines and the town went without telephones for years; see Kimber interview, October 16, 1973, 11.

[33] Delbert Tanner, interview by Richardson, January 31, 1982, 43; Mabel Richins interview, 71-72; Winfred Kimber interview, October 16, 1973, 10.

[34] Richardson interview, July 23, 1976, 56; Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 1. A sense of tribalism was manifested even toward nearby towns; see Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 2, and Ellen Betteridge interview, 21.

[35] Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 16. (According to a comment made by a former Grouse Creek resident at the Mormon History Association meeting on May 19, 2001, Dunn was also somewhat untidy.)

> It seemed to me...that I was being judged by the majority of the women up there. They never did anything or said anything that I could take offense at, but I just felt a coolness or something in their attitude.... They never asked me ever to take part in anything up there except play [piano] for their dances. I was never asked to join the choir or take part in any of the shows or teach a class in anything at all. I sort of sensed a smugness about them.... I think it was their isolation from society generally.... They had lived out there and had a sort of a self-righteous attitude toward their own way of thinking and actions and everything. They never had the opportunity to mix with other societies, other people and other religions....[36]

So its remoteness shaped Grouse Creek, though how it was shaped differs according to the experience and memory of the informant. Informants also remembered and valued the quality of shared poverty, even though some Grouse Creekers had become relatively successful, if several large houses in the town are any indication. Still, a combination of poverty and isolation meant that people had to turn to each other for their needs. In one informant's mind, poverty and caring went hand in hand, and wealth was destructive of character: Neighbors were always ready to help, he said, unlike people of "today," because then people did not have "a lot of property or wealth to hurt them."[37]

The informants remembered a great deal of sharing and economic interdependence: When someone killed a cow or pig, he would cut it up and "divide it around, and then maybe somebody else would kill a beef and then you'd get the meat back."[38] People would trade work or skills, or would simply help when needed, for instance by lending a team to a farmer who had none, fixing a well, or contributing money to those in

[36] Bertha McCuistion Kimber, interview by Richardson, October 5, 1974, 25-26. Kimber critiqued Grouse Creekers' insularity by telling of her son's comment when he went to sixth grade in Montello, Nevada. He returned from his first day of class complaining of the Japanese, African American, and Mexican children in the school. "What would those Grouse Creek kids think if they knew I had to go to school with these kinds of kids?" he said. His mother soothed him by replying that "They'd be jealous of you" because of his opportunity to learn Japanese, etc. Verna Richardson (in conversation with author May 1, 2001) comments that Bertha Kimber was highly intelligent. She speculates that Kimber may have become somewhat alienated when a close relative was excommunicated from the LDS church.

An outsider who was welcomed but also remained "other" was Indian Jack, whom informants remembered fondly for his decorum and for his acceptance of their religion. They recalled with pride that he had received the temple blessings reserved for the Latter-day Saint faithful. And they contrasted him with Captain Jim, a Shoshone who had not been so amiably acculturated and whom they remembered as a mischief-maker.

The settlers did seek to include Jack and other Shoshones in the community. When Jack expressed the desire to become a farmer, Philip and William Paskett plowed three acres for him. "I sowed wheat and turnip seed and furnished 2 sacks of potatoes to plant and promised to help him all I could to develop his farm," Phil wrote. According to one informant, David Toyn had converted many of the Shoshones to the church and "made a big fuss over them," thus extending the community he shepherded. The Indians would bring their newborn babies to him for a blessing. "They thought [Toyn] was the only person in the world." But though he converted to Christianity and became a farmer, Indian Jack was, not surprisingly, still "Indian Jack," an outsider to the "one big family" of memory. For comments on Indian Jack and Captain Jim, see Amanda Paskett interview, 6; Mary Elizabeth Hadfield Betteridge, interview by Richardson, 9; Cooke interview, 31; Ellen Sarah Ballingham Betteridge, interview by Richardson, October 10, 1974, 14.

[37] Elmer Kimber interview, 4.

[38] Olive Tanner Kimber, interview by Jay Haymond, October 2, 1973, 35-36, 49.

EMILY KIMBER COLLECTION IN THE GROUSE CREEK CULTURAL SURVE, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Indian Jack with his wife and Del Adams.

need or on missions. The cooperation that these memories describe is typical of that described in other Mormon towns. For instance, in May 1884, high water in the creek ran over Brother Cooke's grain, so right after the Sunday meeting, men went to work building a new, seven-foot-wide canal. They finished it on Monday.[39]

The spirit of sharing extended into adaptive economic relationships, according to informants. Charles Kimber, who owned a store, carried the ranchers on credit for a year, until they sold their livestock in the fall. Or he would trade groceries for work. "Some families lived out of the store that way," his son remembered, on "just what work Dad could furnish them." Groups of ranchers combined their work efforts, making the big jobs "a lot pleasanter, and a lot faster." Threshing grain required the work of several men, for instance. Instead of hiring workers, owners of the fields just went from farm to farm working together. Sometimes they bought equipment jointly. In one family, brothers owned and worked land together. Recognizing the time and money it took for individuals to shop in other towns, the community started a co-op store in 1942.[40]

Community work on early projects was under the direction of the church. Rabbit hunts; establishment of a school; building of a sawmill; construction and improvement of roads, water pipelines, reservoirs, and canals; and organization of a band (and buying instruments) were all projects initiated and completed by the community through the supervision of Toyn and his counselors during his eleven years as leader. "Instructions was given each Sunday about what was to be done and who was to go and do it."[41] In fact, secular instructions seem to have retained more weight in memory than did spiritual instructions—and had more impact on the life of the

[39] Paskett, "History of Grouse Creek," May 11, 1884. For mission contributions, see Pasket, Autobiography and Diary, 1882; Toyn diary, November 24 and 30, 1896.

[40] Winfred Kimber interviews, October 2, 1973, 8, and October 16, 1973, 6, 16; Paskett, "Sketch of Philip Paskett's Life," July 14, 1884; Richardson interview, July 23, 1976, 6. The store is no longer a co-op; it became a private enterprise in the mid-1990s; Delma Smith, telephone conversation with author, May 2, 2001.

[41] Cooke interview, 14.

community. This remembered town operated under "informal but highly effective cooperation," with the bishop calling for labor during Sunday meetings, a pattern identified by Hamilton Gardner as being common in Utah Territory until 1868. But according to informants, in Grouse Creek this kind of cooperation extended well into the twentieth century. Like the earlier towns described by Gardner, the main capital the Grouse Creek of memory had was its "united strength," adaptability, and efficiency.[42]

"It was all done just as if they were living the United Order. Everybody had certain things to do. It really worked out wonderful," David Cooke remembered.[43] Although most small towns in Utah established themselves through some degree of cooperation, and although Grouse Creekers certainly did cooperate, this explicit comparison with the United Order puts the Grouse Creek of memory on an almost-mythical plane. The long-defunct "United Order," as various as its manifestations actually were, is still invoked among Latter-day Saints as a pinnacle of unity and order in community and religiosity. The fact that United Orders did not survive for long is attributed—at least in the folk memory—to mortal frailty and sin. Therefore, a Grouse Creek that was like the United Order was a town that was on a high plane indeed.

In this highly cohesive community of memory, social, spiritual, and economic interdependence were intertwined, partly because people had neither monetary nor practical means to obtain outside help, but partly because of shared principles of neighborliness. Strong in the Grouse Creek memory was the way the community worked together in times of sickness. During a smallpox epidemic, Winfred Kimber's older sister Nellie prepared food for two or three families. "I'd...feed the cows, go across to her house and I'd get a box of food for the Cook family, one for the Clarence Richins family, one for our family, and bring back, nearly every day for several days."[44] During an influenza outbreak in 1921, "The people pitched in to make jello and things that could be carried from one house to another. We ran our legs off and fussed over kettles of soup and...we took care of all we could get to."[45] During scarlet fever, neighbors made "a batch of bread or some cakes...and put it at the door so they would have food."[46] Because institutional or professional help was usually not available, individuals stepped in. This was true in times of death, also. Informants remembered sitting up with corpses as late as the 1930s, after which people began calling in morticians. Deaths also brought people together in sympathy:

[42] Hamilton Gardner, "Cooperation among the Mormons," typescript copy of article printed in *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 31: 461-99, PAM 3484, USHS.

[43] Cooke interview, 14.

[44] Winfred Kimber interview, October 2, 1973, 8.

[45] Mabel Richins interview, 16. According to the General Foods web page, Jell-O brand gelatin has been around since the 1880s. Grouse Creek did not have electricity in 1921; presumably, cooks of the time used ice for chilling gelatin.

[46] Ellen Betteridge interview, 8.

Funerals were the town's largest meetings, bringing out compassion and neighborliness. "It was always that way."[47]

Contemporaneous accounts indicate that the memories of cooperation and mutual kindness did not tell the complete story. Bishop Toyn reported in his diary that he spent many an hour patching up "trubbels" between members of his flock. By calling the aggrieved parties together and working to "fix" the troubles and make things "all right" again, he was working for order and unity on yet another front. Toyn wrote in 1898, "I were called to the Hall by Bros Blanthorn and Douglas…to help them setel some trubel between Chas Cooke and his Son we fixed the mater all right then I went to Bro Richins to settle a little trubel Between Richins and Paskett my Counselor we maid it all right."[48] A few months later, Toyn "went to the Hall to investigate a nasety matter between George Blanthorne and Will Richins as far as it went it is a very nastey affere."[49]

Occasions for offense would have been many. Like elsewhere the main sore point was probably irrigation water, which one informant remembered as a "constant irritation." There were always those who complained that others took more than their share, took the wrong turn, or wasted water.[50] Property could also be a volatile topic. Prior to his term as bishop, Toyn himself argued with a neighbor over a property line. Philip Paskett mediated, counseling the two to keep cool, but "some rather warm words were exchanged" before the neighbor capitulated "with forbearance."[51]

Decades later, informants did remember some quarrels, but they mostly downplayed conflict; in their memory, cohesive forces remained stronger than neighbors' disputes. Grouse Creekers had "water fights a little bit sometimes"; "It was all stuff that we could settle among ourselves"; "We might have had little troubles...but as far as their inner feelings were concerned…they've been pretty good folks"; people may have had "feelings against their neighbor in a way, but they're just the same when it comes to tragedy...."[52]

The goal of town unity also had to contend with other centrifugal forces, such as the individual struggle to make a living. Not finding security in Grouse Creek, many families moved away to seek better situations.[53] And

[47] Winfred Kimber interviews, October 16, 1973, 15, and May 10, 1974, 22. If funerals brought in more people than church meetings, then perhaps it was not true that "they were all church members"—committed church members, anyway.

[48] Toyn diary, January 18, 1898.

[49] Ibid., April 23, 1898.

[50] Richardson interview, June 19, 1985, 6.

[51] Paskett, Autobiography and Diary, 1882.

[52] Ellen Betteridge interview, 21; Elmer Kimber interview, 27; William Kimber interview, 50. As historian Jill Derr observes, conflict only pulls people apart when the disputes seem larger than collective goals or commonalities. People may not remember conflicts as being of great impact if they see their shared goals as more important; notes to author, March 2001.

[53] Elmer Kimber interview, 5. Apparently, many moved to the Snake River Valley in Idaho. Some who left later returned; Philip Paskett, for instance, tells of moving to Huntington, then to Idaho. Though—or perhaps because—he became crippled with arthritis, his old Grouse Creek neighbors urged him to return;

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, COURTESY NOLA RICHINS KIMBER

Threshing in Grouse Creek.

almost all who stayed had to find work outside town in order to survive. This meant that men and families might spend weeks or months working away from home. They would hire out to herd cattle or sheep, shear or dip sheep, cut or haul hay, break horses, work on a railroad or survey crew, or work for the government. Winfred Kimber was gone for weeks working on the county roads.[54] When Rhea Paskett Toyn was in grade school, her parents spent the summers in Nevada stacking hay for the Utah Construction Company. Sometimes she went along to help with the cooking, and sometimes she stayed at home and took care of the garden. As a schoolgirl, she did it all and she did it alone, including the canning. She also earned money—ten cents at a time—by styling hair for women before the dances. Young people might have to leave home to work at a very young age; Harriet Tanner, for instance, hired out at age fourteen to cook and wash dishes and clothes for families. In the summers she always lived away from home.[55]

But in the community memory the economic forces that drew families away from the community seem to have minimal weight as scattering elements. Maybe the need to work away from home was seen as part of the shared experience that made Grouse Creekers feel unique, just as internal conflicts were defined in memory by their resolution. The oral histories look back to a community that was highly cohesive and self-identifying, turned inward, and by reason of a "special" nature, able to adapt to forces that would pull it apart. They describe social and civic relationships defined by the church/community and directed by the spiritual/secular leadership. The early Grouse Creek remembered in 1970-80 was isolated, interdependent, egalitarian, unified, and cooperative.

And then, the informants remember and describe loss. They describe the coming of outsiders and a major shift in the town's degree of isolation, interdependence, egalitarianism, unity, and cooperation. Although they do not describe a 180-degree shift—presumably, Grouse Creek still has those qualities to some degree—the change itself is complete. The Grouse Creek of memory is not the actual Grouse Creek that the informants knew in the

they moved him and his family then helped with his crops until, restored to health by a "priesthood blessing," he was again able to work; see Paskett, Autobiography and Diary.

[54] Amanda Paskett interview, December 3, 1973, 22; Bertha Kimber interview; Winfred Kimber interview, October 2, 1973, 4, 11; Elmer Kimber interview, 30.

[55] Rhea Toyn interview, 3, 4; Harriet Tanner interview, 8.

1970s and '80s. For them, a decline in the town's attributes was not just a decline in the "way it was" but the end of the "way it was."

Interestingly, the first major disruptions described by informants came near the time that Bishop Toyn was released in 1916. In around 1915 the cattle empire of Miller and Lux pushed eastward into the area. According to one informant, Miller and Lux "came right up through Grouse Creek, drove nearly 10,000 head of cattle [other memories counted 5,000 and 20,000] right up that road, clear from the railroad station [at Lucin].... I guess they thought they'd show the people there who was boss. There was nothing we could do about it."[56] An outsider had come and symbolically split the town in half. Miller and Lux then turned its cows out onto the range, which was at that time open and unregulated but had been shared by the smaller ranchers of Grouse Creek. "That was disastrous to us, that was destroying our livelihood here pretty much," Winfred Kimber said. In response, the local ranchers cooperated to form the Grouse Creek Cattle Association, which still exists today.[57]

The community's resiliency and cooperative unity must have been sorely challenged, both tangibly and intangibly, by the presence of outsiders. However, one informant remembered that the disunity began earlier, within the town itself. David Cooke said that the valley had begun to be divided in 1912 or 1913 by what he called "the big turmoil." According to his memory, before the turmoil the community had been peaceful and unified. Then "they had a horse race [in town] once that brought a lot of ill feelings. It seemed like from that time on people were warring one with another. There was no love or peace like it used to be...there was ill feelings and tempers rose, fights occurred...that divided the valley." Cooke actually left the valley when he was sixteen, so his perceptions may have been frozen in time or exaggerated. He was also the grandson of Bishop Toyn, so he might have been influenced by the views of his grandfather. Whatever the case, Cooke reports that the ill feelings caused a water shortage to develop as a spiritual consequence of disunity. Of course, the cause and effect would more likely run in the other direction; a water shortage might well foster ill feelings. Still, according to Cooke, people at the lower end of the ditches would have to walk the stream night and day to keep people at the top from stealing the water. "It just developed into a civil war practically." By the time Miller and Lux—Gentile outsiders—came into this situation, "it just wasn't the same place anymore."[58]

Since Cooke and his family moved from town "just as [the big turmoil] was drawing to a head" in 1916, he could not say how or if it was resolved.

[56] Cooke interview, 7, 15; Elmer Kimber interview, 13. Miller and Lux was one of the largest meat-packing and cattle conglomerates in the West. Its headquarters were located in San Francisco. See David Igler's *Industrial Cowboys: Miller & Lux and the Transformation of the Far West, 1850-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[57] Winfred Kimber interview, October 16, 1973, 9.

[58] Cooke interview, 11, 14, 15.

Perhaps what he perceived as turmoil was what others perceived as "water fights a little bit sometimes"—a natural recollection if, perhaps, the "civil war" was soon resolved by a better water year and absorbed into happier memories. But perhaps both the vivid and the gentle recollections of turmoil indicate that when resources were scarce, individual interests took precedence over the ideal of community unity. Conflict would naturally arise in times of resource shortage; anthropologists have found that a strain in resources or a diminishment in the land's carrying capacity can lead to chaos, conflict, and violence.[59] Intertwined with this human tendency may have been a hierarchy of concern, implied in some of the Grouse Creek comments. In such a hierarchy, private needs might take precedence over community needs in day-to-day survival, but the community would work together when necessary, especially when "tragedy" struck one or more of the town's families. In other words, the remembered unified community may have been constructed from selected circumstances: death, sickness, dances, celebrations.

As the twentieth century progressed, many young people left home to attend high school in Brigham City or elsewhere. But many did not. Mandy Tanner Paskett wanted to continue her education but lacked the means to pay for room and board in Brigham City. In another family, the father told his sons that they could either have a ranch or go to school, but he could not provide both. The boys chose to stay and ranch. When young people did leave, they often ended up finding employment, marriage partners, and a new life outside Grouse Creek. Verna Richardson speculated that when people had no money for schooling it was perhaps a "blessing for the community because it kept people there"; on the other hand, when young people left "it had a big effect on the community."[60]

But the need for education was not the only factor forcing children out. Like other farming communities, Grouse Creek reached the point of not having enough land for families to pass on to their offspring, and the town was too isolated to move into a non-agricultural economy.[61] However, the

[59] See, for instance, Steven A. LeBlanc, *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1999), esp. 195-200, 309-10. For the way this principle played out in a Puritan community, see Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 35-55. An abundance of land, Bushman writes, made peacekeeping easy; dwindling land availability generated disunity.

[60] Herbert Tanner interview, February 19, 1978, 60; Amanda Paskett interview, December 26, 1973, 6, 7. Verna Richardson says that almost all of the young people she knew in the 1940s and 1950s were "eager" to stay in or return to Grouse Creek, but of course many did leave permanently; Richardson conversation with author, May 1, 2001.

[61] Passage of the federal Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 meant that the younger generation could no longer simply turn more cows out onto the public range; see Herbert Tanner interview, 54. The 1930s depression itself, which could have been seen as a disruptive force, was actually in memory seen as a confirmation of Grouse Creekers' self-image of resiliency. Many lost their savings and went broke, Ed Harris remembered. But it "didn't stop them, they came right back"; Ed Harris, interview by Verna Richardson, August 23, 1973. They "came back" with help from the government, help that they were grateful for: new roofs, carpets, and indoor plumbing; see Winfred Kimber interview, October 2, 1973, side 2, 12.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. COURTESY NOLA RICHINS KIMBER

Grouse Creek Band, 1911.

town was still subject to economic change. In the 1960s the Idaho potato-processing giant J. R. Simplot began buying up land from families who, in the face of grazing regulation, the expenses of mechanized farming, and growing material needs and wants, decided to give up ranching and farming. This consolidation of landholdings diminished Grouse Creek's existence as an agrarian community. Out-migration increased as families succumbed to the pressures to sell, although some struggled to keep their land. At the time that Simplot was buying property, Herbert Tanner told his sons he would do whatever he could to help them keep the land by buying out their partners. "I'll do anything that I can for you boys," he said. "I'll go on paper, I'll give you mine and go with all the credit I've got and everything for you boys right now. Don spoke up and said, 'Dad, you're just too late.... Simplots has come and made an offer'"—at a higher price than the family could manage.[62]

As a result of the various pressures, the population of Grouse Creek declined from a peak of 425 in the 1920s to around 100 in 1980.[63] "We're dwindled down," one informant said. "Big interests have come in...and eliminated a lot of the families. So it's making it kind of hard to have entertainment, hard to have church, hard to have schools."[64] In the viewpoint of many informants, Simplot made perhaps its largest impact in bringing in people who did not belong to the LDS church. Of course, these newcomers

[62] Herbert Tanner interview, 56.
[63] *Utah Directory* and Carter and Fleischauer, *The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey*, 13.
[64] Winfred Kimber interview, October 16, 1973, 11.

were also town outsiders, just as those who had married into the community were. But in the minds of longtime residents, membership and participation in their church were the crucial points of definition. One spoke of a recently arrived Simplot employee as "a right good neighbor and his wife is a sweetheart. But you don't see him in church. He'll go home teaching and he pays a tithing...but you never see him in church…. Some of [Simplot's employees] are right good men. Some of them's not church goers."[65] Another spoke of Simplot's influence in that "some aren't as good church members because they work for him."[66] To those who had experienced the old Grouse Creek, the influx of non- or less-committed Latter-day Saints seems to have been a negative factor in the community. One commented that, after all, Grouse Creek's main strength was its "religion, the clean living that we've always lived in."[67]

But in reality the coming of outsiders may not have been as large an agent for change as was the coming in of the outside. Technologically, the evolution of the town moved from piped water, to telephones, to cars, to better roads, to electricity (which brought in radios, televisions, and appliances), to long-distance telephone. Automobiles arguably had the largest impact, a fact that is reflected in the question that Verna Richardson asked many of her subjects: Do you remember the first car in town? Cars, according to one, were a big reason why celebrations had "died out" by the 1980s; people left town to visit their scattered children instead of gathering together.[68] For all their convenience, cars subtly changed the purposeful nature of the community: "We don't visit as often as we used to when we had to use a team and wagon," said Elmer Kimber.[69]

For the rememberers, this perceived decline of visiting was a strong reminder of what they had lost. They spoke of how their families had often had visitors for the evening or overnight; of visiting each Sunday at a different house for dinner; of singing, talking, quilting, and playing cards with neighbors. They spoke of holiday parties and sleigh rides; of going out as children "ticktacking"; of men spending time on winter days, after they'd finished feeding the livestock, talking together at the store.[70] But now, they said, it was different. "They used to visit where they don't now days."[71]

"There's a difference in the younger people," noticed Herbert Tanner.

> They're more with the ways of the world rather than the ways we've been talking about of having to help one another be your brother's keeper to survive....When you're not visiting and congenial...it reflects in a lot of ways. I've seen it in other small communities and hoped it never landed here where it's 'Hi' and gone—that's it, you

[65] Herbert Tanner interview, 58-59.
[66] Valison Tanner interview, 51.
[67] Amanda Paskett interview, December 26, 1973, 14.
[68] Valison Tanner interview, 31-32.
[69] Elmer Kimber interview, 19.
[70] Winfred Kimber interview, October 2, 1973, 4; Amanda Paskett interview, December 3, 1973, 9-10, December 26, 1973, 8-10; Ellen Betteridge interview, 14, 17, 20; Delbert Tanner interview, 50.
[71] Amanda Paskett interview, 8.

> know.... There's too many, especially with the younger generation, that's living the fast life [and don't have time] for anybody but themselves.... And they can jump in the car and be gone to bigger places....[72]

There was now no time to visit, Rhea Toyn said, even with all the conveniences. "Maybe it's the car. We were a little bit more dependent when we couldn't go quite so easy." A person could "run to the neighbors" when someone was sick, and the neighbors would come.[73] At the same time, farming machinery lessened the need for economic interdependence. It made the farmers more "individualistic," since one man could do what it once took six or eight men to do, in work that had been highly bonding.[74] "I will tell you what I think," said Harriet Tanner. "I think people were a lot closer together at that time than they are in these day[s]."[75] "I think these conveniences have taken away some of this closeness and the need for each other and perhaps a little bit of the spirituality that should be with a Latter-day Saint community," Rhea Toyn concluded.[76]

Over time, perhaps partly because of the greater availability of material goods, what was remembered as shared poverty among the original settlers modulated into a perception of economic distinctions. In reality, economic disparity had characterized the town from the beginning. For instance, the first schoolteachers, who made $35 to $40 per month (much of it in kind), had a special status in town; Elmer Kimber expressed that they were the "society folk and we were poor people."[77] Herbert Tanner reported a "jealous streak" among some residents. People were envious of his father, Allen Tanner, he said, because "he always had a few dollars"; even at the time of the interview, Herbert would sometimes feel a "jealousy pop up that sucks you down on your haunches and it's hard to take."[78]

At the time of the interviews, instead of mutual concern as a defining quality, informants perceived privatism: People were "a little more clannish now, [with] different factions that associate. They take care of themselves...."[79] Even neighborliness seemed to become competitive: Neighbors once simply shared loaves of bread or garden produce, but that changed because "they [the new people or the younger generation, perhaps] think you're a little bit touched if you go take [just bread or produce]. But now you plan to take something a little bit more fancy,

[72] Herbert Tanner interview, 49.
[73] Rhea Toyn interview, 24-25.
[74] Winfred Kimber interview, October 16, 1973, 8.
[75] Harriet Tanner interview, 47.
[76] Rhea Toyn interview, 56.
[77] Elmer Kimber interview, 46.
[78] Herbert Tanner interview, 61-63. The Tanner family built a big brick house in 1905 and was the first family to have hot and cold running water, a bathtub, and electric lights (by generator). Herbert did note that they never had an indoor toilet (47).
[79] Valison Tanner interview, 50. Tanner pointed to changes in leadership as part of the cause of lessened community involvement. "Every person comes in, like a new bishop…why, they have their own particular ideas and it seems as though they've lost the interest in the public. Bishop Toyn always had something to do for somebody. He made it a point" (32).

something that will take their eye."[80]

In his study of Philadelphia, Sam Bass Warner writes that the citizens of the late eighteenth century "had been swept up in the tide of secularization and borne on by steady prosperity to a modern view of the world. Like the Puritans...the Quakers of Pennsylvania had proved unable to sustain the primacy of religion against the solvents of cheap land and private opportunity."[81] Likewise in Grouse Creek, land transactions, the individualizing influence of technology, and the pull of the larger culture with its economic and social opportunities eroded the primacy of the church/community.

By the time of the Grouse Creek oral history project, the circumstances of isolation and mutual dependency had changed, and informants perceived a loss of cohesion and cooperation. Pressures on the cattle range, a diminishing land base, and increasing individualism most likely did alter the nature of the community. Small towns throughout America underwent similar shifts. Sociologist Lowry Nelson identified some striking changes in Escalante in the time between his initial study and his revisiting of the town twenty-seven years later. In 1923 he noted a "we" feeling in the conversation and behavior of residents. In 1950, however, he felt that the "we" feeling had disappeared and had been replaced by an "every man for himself" attitude. In addition, Nelson described decreased isolation, more mechanization and commercial goods, controlled grazing, out-migration, fewer traditional pursuits such as gardening and home production, increased occupational stratification, increased concentration of resources in fewer hands, a disparity between the have and have-nots, and a decreased number of landowners.[82] Dean May's study of Alpine discusses similar developments as the town moved toward the call "to live for the moment; to comfort and plenty; to privacy, and to self."[83] The Grouse Creek informants identify comparable, though perhaps not exactly parallel, trends, pointing to a shift away from the "we" attitude.

In Grouse Creek, some agents of change, like Miller and Lux, could not be controlled. In the case of others, like the selling of land to Simplot, individual needs took precedence over preservation of community. And still other agents of change perhaps went unrecognized as such by many residents. One informant, Rhea Toyn, identifies some, however. "As all these nicer things have come into our life," she comments, "I think [they] have replaced a lot of our living…. Then we were dependent on the Lord and dependent on one another and today that's taken away. *Not that our need is not there, but we forget our need and put it aside and go somewhere else for our help and for our comforts and for our pleasures.*"[84] Material success, Toyn is saying,

[80] Rhea Toyn interview, 26.

[81] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth* (1968: Revised ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 3.

[82] Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 122-23.

[83] May, *Three Frontiers*, 276.

[84] Rhea Toyn interview, 26, 24; italics added.

ultimately undermined the life of faith and conflicted with the human need to be interconnected in profound and enduring ways.

These shared relationships lie at the core of what we have come to regard, and to venerate, as traditional community—although our veneration often glosses over the fact that all relationships entail some conflict and misunderstandings. The Grouse Creek memories do not dwell on these realities— but since the community they describe evolved within a social and physical landscape that differed drastically from today's, who is to say how closely the memories resemble reality?

Perhaps the actual community remembered by the Grouse Creek informants did indeed resemble their memories. But whether actual or not, the community that their memories have recovered is a place worth contemplating. Understood deeply, it can become not an object of nostalgia but a point of reflection on our divergent needs for communality and individuality. It can motivate questions into what we have lost and what we have gained in a culture based increasingly on individualism and consumerism. Perhaps the Grouse Creek of memory can help us consider how much we truly value—and if we are willing to work for—peace, order, and unity, not in memory but in the present.

HATTIE ROBISON, PHOTOGRAPHER. COURTESY CLAY M. ROBINSON

A Trip with the Mail

By MAX E. ROBINSON

On a bright spring day in 1924, my younger brother, Clay, then three years old, and I just five, accompanied our father, Ellis E. Robison, on a trip with the mail from Torrey to Caineville, and back.[1]

The trip carrying the mail, in a horse-drawn buggy, is one of the beautiful memories etched into the minds of two young boys traveling with their father over the route taken by the early settlers of Caineville. Our father, a man of strength, compassion, and tenderness, talked with us in terms we understood.

Pulling the buggy, a team of horses trotted along the primitive, winding dusty road, old State Route 24.

At Fruita, now the heart of Capitol Reef National Park, we dropped mail sacks into several rough, lumber-built mail boxes along the roadway. We plodded south before turning east down deep and narrow Capitol Wash—now known as Capitol Gorge.[2] We stopped at Notom. Then

Three passengers on the mail buggy at the head of Capitol Gorge on the road between Torrey and Caineville, ca. 1925.

Max Edward Robinson is retired and lives in Richfield. The author would like to thank his daughters, Sherrie Sellers and Margie Robinson, and his brother and pal, Clay Mulford Robinson.

[1] My father, Ellis E. Robison, in his youth, spelled his name Robinson. His father, Alvin (Robison) Robinson, spelled his name as Robinson in his mid-life. In later years the name was changed back to Robison by both Ellis and Alvin. Thus, it again conformed with the spelling, Robison, the same as with most of their Fillmore, Utah, pioneer family members. My birth certificate and other records show my name as Max Edward Robinson.

[2] Capitol Wash is now known as Capitol Gorge. John A. Widstoe suggested changing the name of the gorge in 1922. A. R. Mortensen, ed. "A Journal of John A Widstoe, Colorado River Party, September 3-19, 1922," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 23 (1955): 200. Locally, the wash was called Capitol Wash until after the Capitol Reef National Monument was established in 1937.

[3] The abandoned village of Aldridge, Wayne County, is located along present Utah Highway 24 about eleven miles east of Capitol Reef National Park at the confluence of Pleasant Creek and the Fremont River. Notom is located about four miles upstream from Aldridge.

COURTESY CLAY M. ROBINSON

Ellis and Hattie Mulford Robinson at the time of their marriage in 1915.

we passed the turnoff to the abandoned village of Aldridge.[3] Next we advanced onto the hazardous Blue Dugway which we cautiously traversed before fording the Dirty Devil River, a nickname for the Fremont River at that point.[4]

Along the tree-covered bank of the river, next to a yellow-rock-capped mesa, a crude road led us into Caineville as shadows of afternoon softly fell upon us.

Our father had purposely selected a clear, sunny day for our trip. This was wise for the dirt road was often impassible during summer months when high intensity thunderstorms brought flash floods pounding and bellowing down box canyons.

We small boys, Clay, three, and I, five, had looked forward eagerly to the trip, the first of several we took with our father after he acquired the mail contract in the early 1920s to carry the mail three times a week between Torrey and Caineville. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays the mail was carried from Torrey to Caineville, about forty miles, in one day. Then, after an overnight at Caineville, the mail carriage returned to Torrey.[5]

Our father was a teacher and principal at the Torrey school. He also served as Wayne County attorney and did some farming. When he was free from these duties, he carried the mail. Sometimes my mother drove the wagon alone. The rest of the time, especially during the school year, local men were hired to carry the mail. Sometimes these drivers stayed overnight at our house.[6]

Our young minds were filled with excitement as these drivers told of the exploits of the early inhabitants of the Lower Country: Indians, the first

[4] Locally, the Fremont River was known as the Dirty Devil from Fruita on down to the Colorado River confluence. Properly it is the Fremont River until it meets the Muddy River near Hanksville approximately forty miles east of Fruita.

[5] Many interesting people sought passage on the mail carriage. I recall Frank Lawler, a colorful miner and prospector of the Henry Mountains. Often he rode the mail buggy and stayed at our Torrey home. A Dr. William J. Robinson (no relation), a famous medical doctor and author of medical journals, on tour from New York, rode the mail and stayed with us at our home. He gave my brother Clay and me each a silver dollar to place in our copper-made Liberty Bell savings banks. He later sent our parents several of his huge medical books. Often local people rode the mail buggy as this was the most accessible conveyance between the Lower Country and the Upper Country.

[6] Among the men who drove the mail for my father were Chancy Porter, George Mooney, Walter Mulford, Earl Mulford, Floyd Clemans, Fred Giles, John Giles, Voyle Hanchett, and Rulon Hunt. The late Rulon Hunt, in his nineties, told me that he was a boy of sixteen when he drove the mail buggy. He said that on cold winter mornings my mother heated small rocks that were then placed in a metal washtub on the floor of the buggy in front of the buggy seat. A quilt was wrapped about the driver's legs to help hold in the heat. My mother also furnished him with adequate food to sustain him until he reached Caineville. Often my father harnessed the horses for the young driver.

Mormon settlers, cattle rustlers, and the Robbers Roost gang.

We felt honored to be great grandsons of Jorgen and Mette Marie Smith, early pioneers of Utah. They had moved from Richfield to lower Pleasant Creek in 1886 to help settle that part of Wayne County. It was Jorgen Smith who named the ranch he homesteaded, Notom.

Great Grandfather Smith was among the first ten men to settle Richfield in 1864. In his last years on earth the old gentleman, a native of Denmark and Germany, lived in Thurber (now Bicknell) where he died and was buried in 1908.

In the last years of her life, Great Grandmother Smith lived at Torrey until her death in 1925. Often we visited her and were treated to sugar cookies and sugar cubes from her cupboard.

COURTESY CLAY M. ROBINSON

Max and Clay Robinson ca. 1924 on kiddie cars made by their mother using a keyhole saw to cut out the wheels.

Other pioneers of lower Wayne County included our maternal grandparents, Charles and Dena Smith Mulford.[7] They were of the first cattle ranchers at Notom ranch and on beautiful east-end Boulder Mountain.[8]

On the morning of our departure from Torrey a chilly breeze rustled the leaves on the Lombardy poplars on the south side of our home. One could catch the fragrance from the lilacs in bloom along the path leading to the front gate. Apple trees north of the house, not to be outdone, glowed a pinkish-white in the morning sun and emitted an aroma all their own. The

[7] Lower Wayne County, often referred to as the lower country or lower valley, in contrast to the upper valley or Rabbit Valley, is east of Capitol Reef National Park. The Fremont River flows through the upper part of Wayne County at elevations ranging from near 7,200 feet at Fremont to 6,800 feet at Torrey. The stream drops about 1,400 feet in eleven miles as it enters Capitol Reef. The elevation at Hanksville is 4,200 feet. The growing season in the upper western portion of Wayne County is short and crops are limited to the hardy varieties of alfalfa and small grains. The lower valley has a long growing season favorable to several crops of alfalfa, corn, and watermelons.

[8] For a general history of Wayne County see Miriam B. Murphy, *A History of Wayne County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Wayne County Commission, 1999).

large weeping willow tree along the path to the corrals burst with new buds. And the flags (iris), in various shades of purple, violet and greenish-white, added to the splendor of the morning.

Inside our old sawed-log house, we two boys danced with excitement over the promise of the day, a new adventure in our lives. Our mother prepared breakfast of cooked mush, to be eaten with cream skimmed from pans of milk from Spot, our Ayrshire cow. Home-cured bacon, fried crisp as our father wished, and eggs sizzled in the large cast-iron fry pan. Rounding out the breakfast were hot soda biscuits with home-churned butter and peach preserves.

Our mother stocked our grub box with food staples, including eggs, packed in cans of oats to prevent breakage. Loaves of homemade bread and assorted bottles of fruit and cans of other foods were added. And for a treat for us boys she included Kellogg's corn flakes, cans of Sego evaporated milk, and real maple syrup in a miniature log cabin container.

A small brown satchel, our father called a "Boston bag," held a change of clothes for each of us, along with our father's shaving kit and our toothbrushes.

Our father hitched the team to the buggy and tucked a canvas tarpaulin over our camp supplies. With hugs and kisses from our mother and a farewell bark from our dog Bally, we climbed onto the spring seat of the carriage and were on our way for our first trip with the mail.

We tied up in front of a weathered-lumber building, the home of Mary E. Perry, our postmistress, and the U.S. Post office for Torrey.

Mrs. Perry had tied the heavy canvas mail sacks identified by a few blue stripes and an impressive "U.S. Mail" stamped in bold print. To secure each sack she drew tight a cord rope threaded through brass eyelets of the mail sack and latched it with a metal fastener.

Our father placed the mail sacks onto the buggy on the deck behind the seat. He tucked a tarpaulin around and over the pack and secured it with a rope tied to cleats at the sideboards of the buggy.

Across the street from the post office, freighters prepared their teams and wagons to leave for the lower country. Freighters often stayed at the Jed Mott camp house where they could spread their bedrolls, eat their meals, and obtain feed for their horses.

At the camp house, smoke rose from the large rock chimney of the fireplace. The aroma of coffee steeping in a pot over the fire, along with the fragrance of frying bacon and eggs, drifted across the road to our nostrils.

We saw one freighter watering his team of horses at the Torrey canal that flowed adjacent to the main road running east through Torrey.

In winter, when there was no water in the canal, horses and other livestock were watered by men drawing water in a bucket from a large, forty-foot-deep well next to the barn. The water was poured into a big dugout trough made from the trunk of a tree. For culinary purposes, the Motts used a cement-lined cistern, which had been filled in the fall of the year

with water from Sand Creek before freezing weather came. Such cisterns also served the homes of other residents of Torrey.

COURTESY CLAY M. ROBINSON

Ellis Robison (left) with Torrey students in 1923.

A bucket suspended on a rope looped over a large cast-iron pulley fastened to a beam over the cistern housing was used for the campers. Aunt Lizzie Mott had a hand-operated pump for drawing water into her kitchen for drinking and cooking. Her home was unique in this respect. Most other Torrey homes relied on a bucket toted from the cistern. At our home, water was lifted from the cistern by small metal cups suspended on a continuous chain and a crank-turned sprocket wheel. The water then spilled into the waiting bucket. After we were seated on the spring seat of the buggy, our father gave a gentle command to our team. We proceeded east through Torrey town as the early sun cast long, sharp shadows from the many rows of poplars lining the streets.

To the north, after we passed Bishop Ephraim Pectol's "Wayne Umpire Store," we saw the Torrey Knoll of the Red Ledges, large and imposing and glowing as if lighted from within. Near the Umpire store stood the two-story school constructed of hewn red-sandstone blocks where our father served as principal and teacher of the upper grades.

Soon we passed the sawed-log church built by pioneers before the turn of the century. The church served for both religious and civic functions. Both the church and the school had belfries outfitted with large iron bells to be rung for calling in the people. From the belfry of the old church we saw a flock of pigeons leave their night perches and wing across the dawn-lit sky. That stirred two large horned owls from their covering in a blue spruce near our Great Uncle Will Smith's home. They softly flew to other cover south of the John Hancock home.

As we continued east of town, the horses picked up to a gentle trot, stirring red dust. Soon we proceeded beyond the waterfall and came close to the cemetery where our parents' first baby, Fae Elda, lay beneath the earth. In our silence our thoughts were heavy as we observed the tiny granite grave marker surrounded by an abundance of iris our mother had planted and kept alive by carrying buckets of water to the grave.

We traveled down a winding dugway west of Calf Canyon. This canyon was once inhabited by early Indians and its caves have yielded a treasure of artifacts.[9]

[9] These artifacts, found in caches and caves in the canyon, include shields made from bison hides, straw

At the base of the dugway, to the west, lay the well-kept farm of Billy Smith. Further west abutting the farm loomed Coyote Knoll. This is a prominent landmark named by early-day mail carrier, Walt Smith. On one occasion, as he made his way along the old mail trail by horseback, Smith witnessed a coyote calling from the top of the knoll. Long before my time the road to Fruita and Caineville skirted the north base of the knoll.

High on a ridge near Sulphur Creek we encountered five coyotes. They stared at us and stood for a time as if frozen in position, much as hunting dogs do on point. Soon they scampered away into the nearby canyons. At the Sulphur Creek crossing, my father released the checks on the bridles to allow the horses to drink. We laughed as we observed the depressions just above the eyes of the horses move in and out as the horses drank. The horses, their thirst quenched, rinsed their teeth and squirted water from the corners of their mouths around their snaffle bits. Had the horses been exceedingly thirsty from a long drive, my father would have removed the bridle bits to facilitate drinking.

We crossed the creek and the carriage moved up through the cut in the vertical bank of the flood-carved channel. The horses' hooves and buggy wheels sank into the soft sandy road, creating a swishing sound.

We followed the narrow earthen road around the south base of a high, broad mesa on which large, black igneous boulders had been strewn. Many pinyon pines grew on the north slopes.

A fine red dust rose from the road as we headed into Danish Wash. On stormy days the wash drained water from the rugged slopes of the great red-cliff barrier of Capitol Reef that extended south from Thousand Lake Mountain.

As we jogged along, our father pointed out scattered scrub junipers, Brigham tea, silver leaf, Apache's plume, and buffalo grass.[10]

Descending a gentle grade, the carriage rolled faster as we advanced beyond Twin Rocks and other fantastic sculptures of nature. In no time we rode along the floor of Danish Wash where the weather-carved stone motorman looked down upon us from atop his street car.

We ascended from the wash through Devil's Gate near Chimney Rock, a towering structure of cocoa-brown base and reddish-yellow-sandstone cap. To two small boys, Chimney Rock was real, as were the mummies carved in the Moenkopi formation. We were intrigued by the way drainages had been bridged using flat rocks close at hand. Our father told us of these formations and of the flora and fauna of the desert area. And, as a history buff, he conjured images of historical events in our minds as we passed The Castle and Dewey's Fleet.

or willow baskets, pottery, and Indian corn on cob. Many were found and displayed in Torrey by Bishop E. P. Pectol, our local merchant, and Charles Lee, a pioneer of Torrey. The rock-mortared caves where the artifacts were found were not used for dwelling, as once believed, but for storage of foods and other items.

[10] Buffalo grass is a local name for blue grama and galleta grasses.

As we descended into Fruita, we marveled at the beauty and majesty of it all—the vertical red cliffs capped with white domes, contrasted with green of the orchards, fields and gardens in the small valley below.

A. L. INGLESBY COLLECTION; UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The "Mail Tree" with a mailbox attached near the Will and Dicey Chestnut house in Fruita.

Our father placed mail addressed to Dan Adams into the first mailbox perched beside the road. We left several sacks of mail at the Mail Tree, a large gnarled cottonwood standing at the edge of a widened turn in the road across from the Will and Dicey Chestnut home.

These were for families living north of Sulphur Creek and down river from the Mail Tree. Each family had its own mail sack, generally a reused flour sack.

The sawed-log school house, built in 1897 and now listed on the National Register of Historic Places, lay north of Sulphur Creek. Had Clay and I been able to look eighteen months into the near future we would have seen ourselves as part of the small student body of that little school where our mother, Hattie Mulford Robison, would teach all eight grades of Fruita children.

South of the Chestnut property, we crossed over a bridge above the fast-flowing Fremont River and stopped at a turn in the road in front of the Jorgen Jorgensen home. Our father, a bit apprehensive, took special care in placing the mail bag into the Jorgensen box for the old man had a reputation of being cranky and intolerant.

Father chuckled as he told of one occasion when Mr. Jorgensen, a native of Denmark, verbally accosted him for an oversight. The old man had traded orchard-picked fruit for a cured ham from a farmer in Rabbit Valley.[11] The ham, packaged in a seamless sack, was placed under the seat of the mail buggy as freight. When our father absent-mindedly failed to produce the ham, Mr. Jorgensen accused him of trying to steal it. In his thick Danish accent, Mr. Jorgensen ended his upbraiding by declaring: "Yoa iss tot no mo off dan iss one off yoa hosses." He fumed as he carried his ham to his home.

Near the old Cal Pendleton barn a steep trail led up to Cohab Canyon through an opening in a high red cliff. Father told us how the canyon was named. It had originated from the days of Mormon polygamy when men

[11] The upper, western part of Wayne County has been called Rabbit Valley from the time early white explorers and pioneers came into the area. These people were amazed at what seemed like an excessive number of rabbits ranging in the region.

with more than one wife went into the labyrinthine canyon to hide from federal agents who came to apprehend them.

Our last stop in Fruita was at the farm of our uncle, C.L. "Cass" Mulford. Here we watered the horses at an irrigation ditch and fed them alfalfa hay purchased from Uncle Cass. While the horses had their respite, we ate our lunch in the shade of a large black-walnut tree. The tree had been planted in 1886 as a sapling by our great grandfather Jorgen Smith. It had been hauled to the site in a wooden keg.

Our father had arranged with Uncle Cass to feed and care for some of the eight "change-off" horses used in the mail run. The spare horses were kept at Torrey, Fruita, and Caineville.

After lunch we traveled south over Danish Hill where Silver Tip, an infamous outlaw of the Robbers Roost gang, was said to have been apprehended by Sheriff John Hancock of Torrey.

The road wound in and out of many flood washes leading into Grand Wash. We crossed other ravines and flat-rock surfaces before coming into the head of Capitol Wash. The impact of the iron rims of the buggy wheels and the horseshoes striking on the slick rock surfaces echoed from the high perpendicular cliffs.

The road divided at the head of Capitol Wash with the main road leading down Capitol Wash and the other cutting across the base of the reef to the Floral Ranch in the lower Pleasant Creek area. [12]

We observed a telephone line leading from Torrey to Capitol Wash. It was a single-grounded, steel line suspended on glass insulators fastened to the tops of poles. One branch of the line went to the Floral Ranch, the other followed down Capitol Wash to Notom. The latter line had been installed by our grandfather, Charles Mulford, then a rancher at Notom, and neighbors, Sidney Curtis, and Elias Johnson of the old Aldridge village.

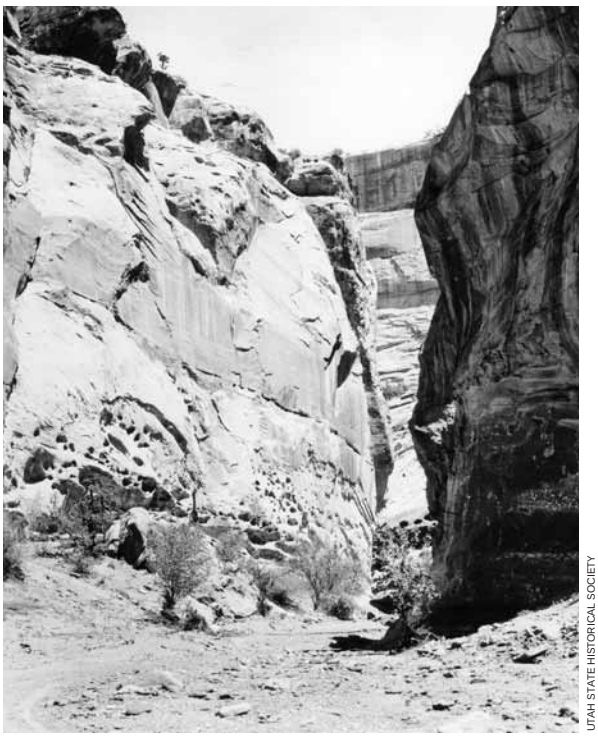
Because of the threat of flash floods, the telephone line through Capitol Wash had been suspended on insulated iron pipes set in holes drilled into the canyon walls above flood-water marks, some twenty feet above the canyon floor.

Capitol Wash, a deep and spooky narrow slot through the Capitol Reef, was the only vehicle-accessible road to the lower country. In "The Narrows" passage was limited to one vehicle at a time because of the closeness of the quarter-mile-high vertical slick sandstone walls.

We found it a bit frightening to see the brown-red flood marks high on the walls. We knew they were left by flash floods surging down the canyon. What would be our fate were we caught by such a flash flood? There had been tales of travelers meeting such tragic fate. But our father reassured us that during the months of May and June there was little danger from flash flooding. The dangerous rainy season was usually in July and August.

[12] The Floral Ranch was established in 1878 by Ephraim K. Hanks. Sidney Alvarus Hanks, *Scouting for the Mormons on the Great Frontier* (Salt Lake City: the Deseret News Press, 1948), 228-29.

The road down the wash was generally rough. Each major torrent rearranged rocks, thus requiring further road work. At specific places, three to five foot-high concrete dams had been keyed into the bedrock across the flood channel to catch sediment. Such deposits covered rocks and elevated the roadbed to gain access to sandbars on which a vehicle could more readily travel.



UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The early road through Capitol Gorge.

At what is called "Pioneer Register" our father read the names of men to us who had passed through Capitol Wash as early as 1882. Cass Hite, pioneer miner of the Colorado River area, had carved his name by shooting a gun at the slick hard sandstone. We recognized names of men who had visited our Torrey home.

In Capitol Wash we stopped at "The Tanks"—erosion-caused water catchment basins carved into the sandstone cliffs over millions of years. These basins, some five or six feet deep, collected rain water during storms. Many held water well into the dry season. A great variety of vegetation hugged the margins of the tanks and grew under the ledges overhanging the pools of water. Toads and tadpoles swam in the more stagnant pools.

After leaving the mouth of Capitol Wash, we approached Notom. With its green cottonwoods and fields, Notom was a true oasis in the desert.

As boys, we were on the lookout for outlaws, mountain lions, and, more realistically, bighorn sheep. We had been told by our Aunt Elma Mulford Bracy that she had seen two large bighorn sheep while traveling down Capitol Wash in a wagon in 1919.

Capitol Wash opened out into a sandy, relatively flat bottom at the base of Notom bench. Sheep and cattle trails descended down the banks into the wash. Our father reminded us that Capitol Wash was a major livestock driveway where thousands of sheep and cattle passed each year to and from the winter and summer ranges. He showed us whorled milk weed and told us of how sheep could become poisoned and die from eating it. We had seen many herds of sheep and cattle being trailed past our home in Torrey

moving from the lower country winter ranges to higher elevation summer ranges. We had seen cattle, including some Texas Longhorns, that were said to have been "locoed" from eating loco weed on the Henry Mountains.

As we approached Notom we stopped at Pleasant Creek to water our horses before proceeding up the cut made in the vertical sand bank. The wash, at its mouth, was relatively wide and strewn with boulders and driftwood from floods.

Father told us that at the time of settlement, Pleasant Creek was indeed a pleasant creek confined to a narrow channel, stabilized by cottonwoods and willows, that could be crossed on a bridge made of poles.[13]

To the north of the old road, lay the farm that at one time belonged to our grandparents, Charles and Dena Mulford, and our great grandparents, Jorgen and Mette Marie Smith. Much of the creek bottom farmland had been cut away by floods that had rushed down Pleasant Creek and Capitol Wash.

At Notom we drew up to another big cottonwood, also called the Mail Tree, where a large mailbox held mail sacks for several ranches in the vicinity, the Sandy ranch, and ranches in the Henry Mountain area. Here Father left the mail sacks for the George Durfey family, Leo Bown, the Lanings, the Kings, and Brinkerhoffs.

The small ranching community of Pleasant Dale first acquired its post office in the late 1880s when Jorgen Smith was named its postmaster. He changed the name to Notom.[14] Why the old gentleman came up with the name, Notom, remains a mystery. One tongue-in-cheek version goes like this: A young gallant cowboy named Tom, came calling on a pretty daughter of the ranch. He asked for her hand in marriage. She replied: "No, Tom." Thus the name, Notom, according to the joke.

Notom held many memories for our father. Many were pleasant, but some were sad, especially the tragic arson caused fire that burned his ranch house and ended his cattle-ranching endeavor in Notom. From Notom Father and Mother moved to Caineville and then to Torrey where Father resumed his teaching career. Years later my brother and I learned that the fire had been set by mother's jealous sister-in-law. An accomplice had confessed and Mother's suspicion that her sister-in-law was responsible for the home-destroying fire was confirmed. The aged mother of the sister-in-law had called Mother to her deathbed and told how she and her daughter had wrapped rags around sticks, saturated them in coal oil, ignited the torches and then tossed them into the house while Father and Mother were at the corral milking cows and feeding the livestock. Our parents never told us the details of the fire. We learned about the details in 1995 when our aunt, our mother's sister-in-law, revealed that she had accompanied our mother

[13] For a history of Notom see the typescript history written in 1984 by Ester Coombs Durfey, "Notom—An Oasis in the Desert." Copy at the Utah State Historical Society.

[14] Jorgen Smith moved to Notom in 1886, the year Father was born. The post office must have been established soon after that. Anne Snow, *Rainbow Views: a History of Wayne County* (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing Co. and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Wayne County, 1977), 277-79.

to hear the deathbed confession.

Father explained that shortly after he and Mother married, one of the Notom ranches was offered for sale. Mother was in favor of purchasing the ranch. She had grown up on a neighboring Notom ranch that was still owned and managed by her parents, Charles and Dena Smith Mulford. However, she was not in favor of our father's proposal to make his brother, Henry Robison, a partner in the ranching venture and protested strenuously. Undoubtedly the recent death by pneumonia of their first-born child, a six-week-old girl, added stress to the situation.

HATTIE ROBISON, PHOTOGRAPHER. COURTESY CLAY M. ROBINSON

Blue Dugway was a hazardous route during stormy weather.

But Father prevailed and he and his brother became partners in the ranch and neighbors. Father and Mother and his brother and sister-in-law moved into the two houses that were part of the ranch.

From the beginning of the partnership, Hattie experienced insults and irritations from her sister-in-law. Older than Mother, her sister-in-law was overbearing and dictatorial. Perhaps out of jealousy and spite, she played little tormenting tricks on Mother. For example, Mother had once placed some fertile eggs with a setting hen hoping to increase the farm flock of chickens. Mother discovered that her sister-in-law clandestinely had taken the eggs from the hen and hard-boiled them before replacing them back beneath the hen. The eggs never hatched.

Father, known for his tolerance and peace-making, kept Mother's anger in check. But his sister-in-law's vindictive pranks continued. During the emotionally charged days of World War I, she spread a rumor that Hattie's mother, Dena Smith Mulford, was pro-German and a traitor to the United States. She claimed that our grandmother had ripped down and trampled a poster bearing the likeness of President Woodrow Wilson. She also claimed that Dena had declared: "I'd rather have my sons fight on the side of Germany than to fight against Germany."

The charges brought an official investigation and the threat of imprisonment for treason. But much to Father's sister-in-law's chagrin, prominent citizens of the county vouched for our grandmother's loyalty and her service in helping to bring many American babies into the world.

Beyond Notom we passed the turnoff to the long-abandoned Aldridge village. It was at Aldridge that our father and mother had first met; he was a young teacher, she a student. Although there was no romantic attachment then, ten years later, as adults, they fell in love and married.

Our travels continued down the lonesome road through the blue foothills past the roadside grave of Richard Crowther, a child of earlier travelers. Our team moved at an easy trot until we approached the incline of the Blue Dugway which climbed through a pass where the blue-clay hills meet the South Caineville Mesa. Then, more slowly and cautiously, we traveled a road that stretched narrow, steep and hazardous. The buggy wheels ran close to the edge of a precipitous slope that was hundreds feet above a ravine.

There had been talk of oil explorations in nearby Caineville Wash and the Red Desert. I have a vivid picture in my mind of two wagons loaded with oil drilling rigs of the Ohio Company. This may have been from an earlier date, possibly when we moved from Caineville to Torrey in October 1922.

We soon forded the Fremont River and followed a primitive road winding through the brush of the flood plain and along the foothills north of the river. In most places the road paralleled the Caineville irrigation canal with its several tunnels.

We were fascinated with the tunnels. Father explained how the early settlers had constructed the canal tunnels by using dynamite to blast the passageways through the hills. Hand picks, shovels, and horse-drawn scrapers were used to finish the job. Often Clay and I had observed our father using what was called a dump or slip scraper to build or clean irrigation ditches.

Our buggy slowed as we passed the old storm-battered, cottonwood-log cabin built by Elijah Cutler Behunin, the first pioneer of Caineville in 1882.

Across the road from the Behunin cabin stood the frame house where I was born on January 10, 1919. Mother and Father had moved there after that tragic episode at the Notom Ranch that forced them to abandon their aspirations of becoming cattle growers. In dire financial straits, Father accepted the most readily available job for which he was qualified, teaching children in Caineville.

As we rolled along in the buggy, we were fascinated at the many spring flowers in bloom along the foothills of the North Caineville Mesa.

UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Caineville.

Asparagus grew in abundance on the edges of irrigation ditches.

We drew up beside a white picket fence in front of the Caineville post office—the home of postmistress Elsie Ostberg. Apple trees blossomed in the yard. Mulberry trees, planted years ago to conform with the Mormon leader's desire to establish a silk industry in Utah from silk worms, lined some of the streets of Caineville.

After delivering the mail, we rode back past the combined pioneer school and church building. There our father had taught school only two years earlier. And in that building I attended Sunday school.

We spent the night at our small farm where stood the old house in which Clay had been born in 1920 and in which we spent the first few years of our lives.

Father first fed and cared for our horses and then set about preparing supper. He built a fire in the old black kitchen range and, as darkness set in, lit the coal-oil lamp.

We awoke at dawn to the beautiful song of a bird perched in a big cottonwood tree near the house. Father called it a mocking bird.

At the irrigation ditch Father cleaned up my three-year-old brother and put fresh clothing on him. Back at the house I washed my face in a tin washbasin sitting on the wooden stand out on the porch. I blew air through the water to make a bubbly sound as I had heard the hired hands do.

After an early breakfast of Kellogg's corn flakes and Sego evaporated milk, and hot cakes covered with syrup from the miniature tin log cabin that Mother had packed especially for us, we harnessed the horses and hitched them to the buggy. We were off for Torrey on our return trip with the mail.

BOOK REVIEWS

Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows

By Will Bagley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xxiv + 493 pp. $39.95.)

IN THIS THOROUGHLY RESEARCHED and documented book, Will Bagley examines Mormonism's darkest deed, the killing at Mountain Meadows of some 120 men, women, and children en route to California from their homes in Arkansas.

This study seeks to explain how decent Mormon men, in pioneer southern Utah, could be persuaded to travel some forty miles to the "killing field," there implement an agreed upon plan that required them, and Paiute Indian allies, to disarm and then brutally kill their victims. Why would they do it?

Bagley's book answers several persistent questions. Who was responsible for the massacre? His answer, Brigham Young, and other Mormon leaders, including George A. Smith, William Dame, Isaac Haight, Philip Klingensmith, John Higbee, William Stewart, John D. Lee, and any who participated.

The second question, why the massacre? The author reviews several "concepts" that "faulted" the judgment of Young and church leaders, such as their belief, at the time, in the immanence of the "Second Coming," and the church's Millennial expectations; the "role" of the Lamanites (Indians) as part of God's judgment upon a "gentile nation" that had shed the "blood of the prophets"; and church leaders' seeing the need to "cleanse Zion" from within—meaning repentance and absolute obedience to priesthood leadership for saints, and "blood atonement" for the wicked.

Additionally, polygamy generated national hostility. Mormonism's theocratic version of American democracy antagonized outsiders, especially territorial officials sent to govern in Utah, with resulting charges and exaggerations that would contribute to President Buchanan's sending of an army to help "rule" Utah. That "news" was reported on July 24, 1857.

Bagley's research shows that the event was even more dramatic because Eleanor McLean, polygamous widow of recently slain (prophet) Parley P. Pratt, was with O.P. Rockwell and party, and was asking that Pratt's "blood be avenged." Bagley believes that "avenging the blood of the prophets" became the critical factor determining Young's and church leaders' choices at that time.

Clearly Young did not want another occupying army, since he remembered all too well the troubles Colonel Steptoe's "occupation" caused during the winter and spring of 1854-55. So, alternatives were considered: moving north toward Fort Limhi; a western

retreat into the "wilderness"; and even a flight down the Colorado River and to Mexico, a choice not noted by the author.

Nor does Bagley discuss the claim made by Dr. Kent Fielding and other scholars that Governor Young actually declared martial law in August 1857, concurrent with George A. Smith's trip south to "alert" those settlers, and with Jacob Hamblin's appointment as President of the Southern Indian Mission. That oversight allows Bagley to emphasize the "avenging role of the Priesthood." If those scholars are correct, then Governor Young, commander of the "militia," was responsible "before the fact" because the "buck stopped with him." Also, that action would suggest that Young's faulty decision making was due primarily to bad intelligence, poor judgment, and gross miscalculations of what might happen once the "conflict" got underway. But, such an explanation does not account for the cold blooded, cruel killing that occurred.

Two specific events are relevant to Bagley's hypothesis: Jacob Hamblin's and the Southern chiefs' camping together with both George A. Smith's returning party, and the Fancher/Baker wagon train at Corn Creek on August 25, 1857. Bagley argues that the decision was confirmed there that the wagon train would be attacked at Mountain Meadows. Secondly, Hamblin and the chiefs continued on into Salt Lake City to confer with Young (September 1, 1857), at which time he gave the Indians "all the cattle on the Southern route." The Indians returned south immediately.

To allay doubts in some minds, church/military leaders in the south sent James Haslam north to "check" with Young while moving ahead with attack plans by appointing John D. Lee to "manage" the Indians. Bagley traces their gruesome activities in detail. By Friday evening, September 11, 1857, the deed was done.

How to explain the massacre then became their (the leaders' and participants') biggest challenge. The decision was to lie, and that lie, told in one form and another, has burdened the families of both victims and perpetrators ever since. Only Lee, a guilty scapegoat, was tried and convicted by an all Mormon jury. His death (March 23, 1877) did not, however, put to rest the question of who was responsible for the massacre.

Bagley's book gives faces and hearts to the victims and their families. For the author, blaming the "victims"—members of the wagon train, especially, but also the Indians and even the local Mormon men—as the primary "cause" of the massacre, is inaccurate and wrong, for they were also victims of unwise decisions by their leaders. This work fills out the lives of these people, and it follows the consequences of that event in as much detail as the author's volumi-

nous research could uncover. Future histories will need relevant, new documentation to challenge Bagley's conclusions.

This book is not a history of the Mormon church, nor of Brigham Young and other church leaders, nor of the "Utah War." To see it as such distorts the larger picture, and thereby, would seem to discount the many very positive aspects of those histories. Even for participants, their lives were much more than the "massacre" though its impact haunted them all. And thoughtful Mormons, aware of the event, have continued to wonder.

The author offers bold insights into the "causes" of the massacre, and he provides a wealth of new, post-massacre data. He reviews Lee's trials, and the various histories written about the massacre, with their charges and claims. Special attention is given to Juanita Brooks for her courageous book on Mountain Meadows, published in 1950.

While some readers and reviewers may choose to classify *Blood of the Prophets* as anti-Mormon, that is not the author's purpose. He believes that it is long past time for the truth to be told, for blame to be accepted, and for healing for all to occur.

The inscription on John D. Lee's tombstone reads: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (John 8:32).

MELVIN T. SMITH
Mt. Pleasant, Utah

Historical Topography: A New Look at Old Sites on Mountain Meadows

By Morris A. Shirts and Frances Anne Smeath (Cedar City: Southern Utah University Press, 2002. iv + 71 pp. Paper, $15.00.)

SOUTHERN UTAH UNIVERSITY PRESS has inaugurated a monograph series on the Mountain Meadows massacre. *Historical Topography: A New Look at Old Sites on Mountain Meadows*, the first in the series, presents the research of Morris A Shirts. Professor Shirts spent years studying the Southern Utah Iron Mission along with the Mountain Meadows massacre that contributed to its failure. At his death in 1997, his major study of the Iron Mission was still unpublished. His family pushed the project forward with editorial assistance from Dr. Frances Anne Smeath. *A Trial Furnace: Southern Utah's Iron Mission* was published in 2001. Besides that work, Shirts had planned a study of some aspects of the massacre, but it, too, remained unfinished. Again the Shirts family turned to Dr. Smeath to shepherd Shirts' research to publication. This

monograph is the result.

A New Look at Old Sites does not focus on the *who*, *what* or *why* of the massacre, but instead on narrow but crucial issues of *where*. Where did the Fancher party camp at the Mountain Meadows? Where were they attacked, where were they killed, where were they buried and what marks their graves? Shirts and Smeath trace the investigations of the site beginning with the military inquiry of 1859 conducted by Captain Reuben P. Campbell, Assistant Surgeon Charles Brewer, Brevet Major James H. Carleton and Major Henry Prince; the later military site visit of 1864 by Captain George Frederick Price; the site surveys of 1873-1874, 1876-1877, 1881, and 1899; and the monuments placed in 1932, 1990, and 1999.

In the concluding section, "Critical Issues," Shirts and Smeath address lingering problems of interpreting events at the massacre site. They conclude that the "siege site" was located at the southern end of the Meadows, near the 1932 and 1999 monuments. During the initial attack and subsequent siege, between seven and ten Fancher party members were killed at that location. But this was not the site of the main massacre—it was one to two miles northward. Reliable accounts state that under a promise of protection, local Mormon militiamen led the Arkansas emigrants away from their camp. Shirts and Smeath favor the view that the line of march of the Arkansas emigrants and their Mormon escorts extended north by northeast along the eastern side of the valley and the massacre site of the emigrant men was approximately one and one-third miles north of the "camp" or "siege site." The massacre site of women and children was roughly one-third of a mile beyond that. Upwards of 110 men, women, and children were killed at these massacre sites. The "burial sites" were generally to the east of the massacre sites, that is, on the east side of the road. In that area, Utah State Route 18 generally tracks the old wagon road, making the original burial sites on the east, not west, of the present highway.

As noncontroversial as these conclusions may appear, one must recall that the record we inherit on even these subjects is clouded and other interpretations are possible. One contribution of this study is the reasonable interpretation Shirts and Sheath have provided of the existing evidence. A second is they have collected materials on all sides of the issues they raise, making it possible for future students to reassess the evidence and their interpretations.

Another contribution is illustrated by an initial question Dr. Smeath poses: How do we "dispassionately interpret an event

about which no one can be dispassionate" (2). Yet Morris Shirts and Frances Smeath have done exactly that. They, and others like them, are seeking neutral tools, methods and frameworks to better understand the great calamity at Mountain Meadows. After nearly a century and a half of rancor and acrimony, one can only hope this trend will continue.

ROBERT H. BRIGGS
Fullerton, California

Contested Empire: Peter Skene Ogden and the Snake River Expeditions

By John Phillip Reid (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xiii + 258 pp. $29.95.)

LEGAL SCHOLAR John Phillip Reid is convinced that historians have too long ignored the role of law in the daily, personal interactions between Hudson's Bay Company and American trappers. Those exchanges often operated on mutually accepted legal values, an aspect of the fur trade lost to historians who have emphasized violence to the exclusion of less bloody, more civil forms of interaction. To support this, the author broadly examines the expeditions of Peter Skene Ogden, covering some of his exploits with the North West Company, its merger with Hudson's Bay and Ogden's integration into that unit, and his Snake River expeditions, no less than the full two decades of the 1820s and 30s, in just over two hundred pages of text. Although it was Hudson's Bay's intent to "denude" the land of beaver, making the area unappealing for American trappers and, thus, they thought, American settlers, competition did not preclude civil, even legalistic, dealings between the two groups. In fact, competition and interaction functioned largely on shared concepts of property rights, even though neither the United Kingdom nor the United States had effective governments or governmental bodies operating in the territory they shared. Reid's contested empire thus takes the form of both a local, everyday contest over furs and trapping area and an international contest over rights to the American northwest. Despite mutual satisfaction with the laws governing interactions on a local level, Britain ultimately lost the larger contest when the very American trappers it attempted to shut out of the region led in the settlers that it also feared.

Reid's emphasis on the lack of violence that took place between Hudson's Bay and Americans is intriguing and valuable.

Reid ably demonstrates that despite the devious, underhanded methods Ogden used to prevent American trappers from succeeding, the two groups were able to share camps, trade, and negotiate the employment of freemen together amicably by the end of the period, as well as provide protection for each other against hostile Indians and elements. The Ogden-Gardner confrontation in 1825 is notable for Reid not because it nearly erupted in physical violence, but because it did not, and because the trappers who deserted to the Americans, and who were, ironically, Iroquois Indians, eventually repaid all or part of the debts they had contracted with Hudson's Bay. Mutual concern for payment of debts is in fact one of Reid's strongest proofs of shared concepts of property rights, but the best examples of this come not from Ogden or his expeditions, but from brief explanations of other incidents. These include one that took place in Death Valley in 1849, one on the Oregon trail in 1852, the experiences of '49er J. Goldsborough Bruff, and the fact that in 1839 trappers, including Robert Newell, recovered stolen Hudson's Bay horses and returned them. None of these events included or concerned Ogden and his expeditions, and they took place several years after the Ogden expeditions that Reid chronicles.

The work's title is thus not the best indicator of what Reid has to offer. The author's real contributions lie in his examination of law as it played out on a daily basis for fur trappers and in his valuable discussion of the role of freemen, their relationship to Hudson's Bay, and the ideas of property ownership shared by the two, all of which are obscured by the title's emphasis on Ogden and his expeditions, which are really only a minor part of Reid's thesis. Additionally, Martin Ridge lays out Reid's argument in a cohesive, well-written foreword, but that argument is not as easy to locate in the text. Unfortunately, Reid's interpretation is scattered through a narrative, that covers too much time and information and weighs down his insightful analysis.

EMILY BRANN WEST
FRED R. GOWANS
Brigham Young University

Brigham Young's Homes Edited by Colleen Whitley (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. ix + 262 pp. $49.95.)

THIS COLLECTION OF ARTICLES, edited by Colleen Whitley, represents a significant effort to identify, describe, and explain "the uses of each of the many homes Brigham Young established for his wives and families" (vii). The results, spread through nine articles by diverse authors, are summarized in "Brigham Young's Houses" (Appendix 1). Brigham Young—himself a carpenter, painter, and glazier—"recognized the value of both public and private buildings and demonstrated ingenuity and skill in making them functional, beautiful, and sturdy," writes Whitley in her preface (vii).

The first chapter begins with the first question that springs to many minds when imagining Brigham Young at home: how many wives did he have? Jeffery Ogden Johnson's substantive discussion, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households," lists fifty-six. The carefully researched article, an earlier version of which was published in *Dialogue* (1987), also dates and describes Young's marriages: sixteen wives were widows, sixteen bore him children, ten asked for and were granted divorces, etc. (All of Young's wives are listed in Appendixes 2 and 3 and further references provided for each, though some of the most significant scholarly works are not cited).

Many of Young's wives feature prominently in this book's other eight chapters, which provide information on Young's homes and glimpses of his home life. Two articles by Marianne Harding Burgoyne trace Young's homes in Vermont, New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Whitley and Judy Dykman, W. Randall Dixon, Elinor Hyde, and Kari K. Robinson examine Young's many homes in Salt Lake City, Provo, and St. George. Drawing from public and personal documents, the articles present a mixture of old and new data and lore, but neither the writing nor the scholarship is of uniform quality. At some points the discussion veers toward rambling tour guide commentary. Whitley and Dykman's chapter on Salt Lake City includes useful sketches of the Old Fort and a map that effectively locates Young family dwellings in the city center. The Gardo House article, authored by Sandra Dawn Brimhall and Mark D. Curtis, a slightly different version of which was published in *Utah Historical Quarterly* (2000), successfully places the house and Young and other owners in a rich historical context which extends decades beyond Young's death in 1877.

Formatted (9”x12”) for visuals, the book is filled with photographs, engravings, cartoons (not adequately identified), maps, and drawings. The striking cover features William W. Major's painting, *Brigham and Mary Ann Angell Young and Their Children*. Each change of chapter and author is handsomely signaled by a full-page watermark photo behind the text. In general, photographs significantly enhance individual chapters. They acquaint readers with lesser known wives of Brigham Young, or changes over time in the appearance of his homes, such as the Beehive House, or the elegance of the last home Young had built, the Gardo House. A few photos, however, dilute the book's visual impact. Some are blurred or lack artistic quality. Four Lion House photos displaying dining tables and chairs become indistinguishable. Photos of lots on which some homes once stood, such as the photo on page 121 of the Grandma's Tire store on South Temple in Salt Lake City, do not locate most readers in a particular place and will have little enduring relevance. On the other hand, they may serve to put readers in touch with the concern for preservation expressed in the editor's Epilogue. Colleen Whitley laments that the “solidly built” homes of Brigham Young “were constructed to last for many life-times, but are accessible to us now only in aging photographs that testify to their lost elegance. Their absence in our cityscape deprives us of significant elements of our communal identity” (212). This is a thought-provoking conclusion to an informative, though disparate and somewhat uneven collection.

JILL MULVAY DERR
Brigham Young University

In the Absence of Predators: Conservation and Controversy on the Kaibab Plateau

By Christian C. Young (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xii + 269 pp. $49.95.)

IN THE ABSENCE OF PREDATORS is a fine book, well worth the reading for those who follow the endless struggle between conservationists and land users. It should also appeal to ecologists and other scientists who chase the literary labyrinth of nature writers, land use critics, and the history of human existence on the land. The author does a good job summarizing the early writers who set the agenda and tone for the twentieth century adoration of nature and the conservation movement.

The author carefully relates in detail the complexity of the

management of the Kaibab deer controversy that began on the remote Kaibab Plateau of northern Arizona in 1906 when President Theodore Roosevelt, following the legislative efforts of Utah Senator Reed Smoot and Congressman Joseph Howell, established the Grand Canyon National Game Preserve. Its purpose was to "set aside [lands] for the protection of game animals and be recognized as a breeding place therefore" (17). The U. S. Forest Service was given jurisdiction to manage the land and that meant continued grazing of livestock and logging on the preserve. Four years later when the National Park Service came into existence, it took administrative control of sections of the plateau near the Grand Canyon.

Here then is the basis for the complexity of differences in purpose and management philosophy of federal government agencies, scientists, tourism promoters, hunters, ranchers, conservationists, popular writers, and Arizona state officials.

Local residents traditionally used the Kaibab Plateau to graze their livestock and hunt. To protect livestock and fulfill the mandate to protect game animals, government wildlife scientists established policies to systematically eliminate predators of the deer population as well as livestock. The results were a significant increase in the deer population followed by the deer die-off in the 1920s. This dramatic change of deer population left well meaning federal and state policy makers, managers, scientists, and the public shaking their heads at the obvious failure to conserve the wildlife resources on the plateau.

The author describes the elusive balance needed between managers and users. The attempted balance tried, he says, was like a play yard teeter-totter, giving to each side while taking some from each side. The equilibrium needed was more "like the spinning plate atop a long pole resting on the nose of a talented performer" (214). If we imagine the performer as a circus clown, he or she might be walking on a rolling ball. No use trying to make a direct comparison between the complex imagery and the simple schoolyard lever on a fulcrum to nature under management by poorly informed people under scrutiny by the press and intense pressure by politicians. No one really knew enough to act for the best good of all. The abysmal situation made a good argument for those who spoke loudly about reserving nature for nature lovers, not for hunters, grazers, developers or even scientists. It gave fuel to those who would lock everyone out.

The author describes many attempts to adjust various remedies but concludes that first the public must learn that wildlife

problems are complex. "Our knowledge about nature will perhaps always be entangled with our beliefs about the value of certain species, about order in natural systems and about balance in ecological communities" (215). Government agencies need to cooperate rather than hold fast to jurisdictional boundaries and more important, wildlife management plans by those agencies need to be flexible to accommodate evolving conditions and new scientific information.

How we sort that out, if we ever do, will lead to seeing the connection between nature and human culture. Everyone interested in the future of wildlife resources must be involved in the discussion. No one sector of the involved communities can make management decisions alone.

JAY M. HAYMOND
Macomb, Illinois

T. Edgar Lyon: A Teacher in Zion By T. Edgar Lyon Jr. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2002. xiii + 346 pp. Cloth, $28.95; paper, $18.95.)

THE EMINENT HISTORIAN Barbara W. Tuchman has commented on her use of biography as a useful prism of history, "a vehicle for exhibiting an age." She reminds us that the National Portrait Gallery uses portraiture to convey, with appropriate drama, the panoramic sweep of history.

In a similar vein, Sterling M. McMurrin has suggested that the life of B.H. Roberts should be of interest to those "who value the traditions of the church, who have any attachment to its robust and romantic past, or who have genuine appreciation for the ideas and institutions that have been the substance and strength of Mormonism." It could be added that emulation—that bracing wake-up call delivered by an account of a life well lived—is one other significant benefit to be derived from biography.

Combining these comments regarding the writing and reading of biography, one can affirm that the biography of T. Edgar Lyon written by his son, T. Edgar Lyon Jr., does indeed evoke an enhanced, energizing sense of personal possibilities, as it skillfully knits together the major threads of a productive and courageous life. It also provides a prism through which one can formulate a better understanding of a transitional period in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The readers of this biography can come to their own thoughtful conclusions

regarding the extent to which the reverberations of this period are still with us.

T. Edgar Lyon was born on August 9, 1903. From 1923 until his death on September 20, 1978, he pursued, with characteristic energy, the work of missionary, ecclesiastical leader, scholar, historian, and teacher in the Seminary and Institute programs of the church. The single most powerful and unifying thread running through all of these pursuits was Lyon's passion for history. "So passionate was Lyon about a truthful presentation of LDS History that he was fearless about correcting misinformation, whether it came from inside or outside the Church" (222).

A significant and particularly instructive aspect of Ed's life is brought center-of-stage by the fact that his views regarding how to write and teach history, and how best to realize the full potential of religious education did, in the words of his biographer-son, "occasionally place him in conflict with authorities and Church Education System leaders" (xii).

The full extent of Lyon's courage and Christian nobility are revealed in his magnanimous behavior in the face of the shabby way he was treated by some administrators as a consequence of these conflicts. The essence of the problem was the failure on the part of certain administrators to grasp an important component of Lyon's greatness, which, as defined by his son, "was his ability to harmonize his own passionate conviction for historical thoroughness and unbiased scholarship with an equally firm desire to serve his church and sincerely preserve the faith of its brightest minds" (xii).

The years from 1939 to 1962 were Lyon's professional "golden years." These were the years of a harmonious, collaborative relationship with Lowell Bennion. In 1930, Bennion, under the direction of church authorities, founded the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah. From 1939 through 1962 Lyon and Bennion were the "dynamic duo" who, in a very real sense, pioneered the development of a religious education program for LDS college-age students. Bennion noted that he and Lyon "got along beautifully. Not a single harsh word or angry word or feeling passed between us in twenty-three years of close association. I think we loved each other—and still do—even as Jonathan and David of biblical times" (203).

Sterling McMurrin's suggestion that B.H. Roberts' life can bring into focus a "robust and romantic" period in the history of the church, surely also highlights the way in which the lives of Lowell Bennion and T. Edgar Lyon can bring to mind a dynamic, open, expansive approach to gospel scholarship and education.

Anyone interested in preserving (or returning to) such an approach will be pleased and stimulated by the admirable and incredibly productive life of T. Edgar Lyon as portrayed in this biography.

In 1962 both Bennion and Lyon were forced by administrative decisions to pursue their professional passions in separate arenas. Bennion served briefly as an Assistant Dean of Students at the University of Utah, and then devoted the rest of his life to creating and directing community service programs, many of which continue to be a force for good at the University, as well as throughout Salt Lake County and beyond. Lyon continued his research, much of which provided the inspiration for the Nauvoo restoration program, wrote manuals for the Institute program, and continued to share his unique background and profound commitment with students, albeit at a reduced teaching load.

One of the highlights of my own professional life was the opportunity to be mentored and inspired by T. Edgar Lyon as we served together, for a few years prior to his death, on the faculty of the Institute of Religion at the University of Utah. As a young father and husband, I was challenged by the fact that the supreme value in Ed's carefully considered value hierarchy was his devotion to his beloved wife, Hermona, and his six sons.

In his forward, T. Edgar Lyon Jr. states: "It has been difficult to be fully objective. My father's presence still looms large in my life. I bear his name, his temperament, his passion for history, even his hairline" (xii). Those of us who knew Ed would say to his son that his father's presence also continues to loom large in our lives, and we would assure him that, in emphasizing his father's virtues and unique contributions, his has been admirably objective.

U. CARLISLE HUNSAKER
Salt Lake City, Utah

An Amulet of Greek Earth: Generations of Immigrant Folk Culture

By Helen Papanikolas (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002. xiii + 316 pp. Cloth, $39.95; paper, $24.95.)

HELEN PAPANIKOLAS is truly a precious gift to Utah history. As the recognized dean of ethnic and cultural historians in the state, she continues to blend keen historical insights, documentation, and understanding with an incredible command of the

English language. The rhythms and tones of Greek culture (Romiosini) resonate loudly in this her current work, clearly succeeding in illustrating "the humanity of these early immigrants who helped build America" (xii). Her remarkable use of oral history captures the essence of each immigrant, who "had come from a great oral tradition" (ix). The author also describes how Greek mothers pinned amulets to their sons' shirts, having enclosed in them "a piece of holy scripture or a sliver of the True Cross, a dried basil leaf or thyme for remembrance, a bit of garlic or blue bead to withstand the Evil Eye, and a pinch of Greek earth" (53). This imagery exemplifies, in microcosm, the story of Greek immigration.

The book is divided into three main sections: "Ancient Lore and Lost Greatness," "Nationhood and Exile," and "Americanization." Each subsection poignantly describes the immigration process: from leaving the places of origin, to the sojourn to America, to the accommodation to life in a new land. For the reader unfamiliar with Greek culture, "Ancient Lore and Lost Greatness" illuminates the vital and critical role of religion, values, and traditions. "The contemporary Greek was born to his religion" (14). Greeks had "a vital, dramatic folk culture" (19). For non-Greek readers and historians, these chapters set a tone and framework for understanding a culture rich in folklore and oral tradition.

Part II probes "Nationhood and Exile," where Helen Papanikolas explains "the Greeks developed *Romiosini*, an identity in which vestiges of ancient Greece, lost Byzantium, the Great Idea to regain lands taken by the Turks, Orthodoxy, language, and folk culture melded" (47). The dilemma to adhere to the Classical image of ancient Greece continues to the present day. As young Greeks prepared to venture out of poverty, "the sojourners' intangibles of history, faith, and folklore, combined to give them the Romiosini culture they would take with them" (51). Again, the author's use of oral history produces insightful results, skillfully weaving together a tapestry of Greek American history.

Helen Papanikolas uses Part III, "Americanization," to illustrate the accommodation process of Greeks to life in America. The analysis that "many immigrants became citizens, but they were indelibly Greek at heart" (179), best exemplifies this point. Greeks were worried about losing their culture—a concern echoed by many contemporary ethnic and immigrant groups in Utah. World War II signified the end of the immigrant era. The younger generation was "veering away" from their culture. Tensions arose

between new and old Greek immigrants. Thus, Papanikolas points to internal conflicts that aid the reader's understanding of the totality of the Greek experience.

An Epilogue, "Vestiges of Romiosini," helps to tie the package together, to complete the image. Here, the author examines how Greek culture is changing in the caldron of time. She maintains that "how Greek Americans relate to the Orthodox Church varies greatly" (271), and a keen observation that, "the loss of language is a more passionate fear the closer a person is to his Greek birth and to the immigration experience" (272). Here, the pull of Americanization and accommodation proved great.

The book contains a variety of photographs depicting the geographical distribution of experiences, and illustrations that show two and three-dimensional objects important in Greek life. Here, the value of the collection held by Hellenic Culture Center in Salt Lake City becomes evident

Solid documentation forms the basis of the book's analysis, which draws significantly on the author's earlier works. In fact, this reader identified specific individuals undoubtedly used in the author's first work of fiction, *Small Bird, Tell Me*. Those interested in immigration and ethnic history, Greek American history, and Utah history will find this volume a must and pleasurable read. Helen Papanikolas documents, educates, and entertains – *An Amulet of Greek Earth* is worth the time.

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BOOK NOTICES

The Force of a Feather: The Search for a Lost Story of Slavery and Freedom By DeEtta Demaratus (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2002. xiv + 235 pp. $27.95.)

Biddy Mason and her three children and Hannah and her four children came to Utah from Mississippi in 1848 as slaves of Robert Mays Smith and Rebecca Smith who had become Mormons in 1844. They remained in Utah from October 1848 until March 1851 when they journeyed to California as part of the San Bernardino mission.

After a promising beginning, Smith lost his beloved ranch through an unfortunate set of circumstances and decided to move to Texas. As the family prepared for the move, the right of Smith to take his slaves with him was challenged under California law (the provisions of the Compromise of 1850 had provided for the creation of California as a free state and, under the doctrine of popular sovereignty, had allowed the Utah territory to decide whether or not to allow slavery). The ensuing trial and decision by southern-born judge Benjamin Hayes, more than a year before the Dred Scott decision by the United States Supreme Court in a similar case, make for interesting and surprising reading. In an even larger context, the threads of family, religion, race, slavery, loyalty, duty, and destiny weave a tapestry of history that stretches across the country and across much of the nineteenth century.

In paralleling chapters, the author recounts her search for the story in archives in the South, California, the LDS Church Family History Center in Salt Lake City, and through descendants of her subjects. In a talk at a Smith family reunion in Texas about her research, the author describes the conflicting relationships inherent in the practice of slavery and her search for historical truth. "I believe that Robert Mays Smith believed that these women of color and their children were part of his family, that it was a bond, rather than bondage, between them. But the women and children may have felt another way. There is a white truth and a black truth and a greater truth that encompasses us all. Only now, after all these years, it may be possible to seek the greater truth" (204).

The Forgotten Founders: Rethinking the History of the Old West By Stewart L. Udall (Washington: Island Press/Shearwater Books, 2002. xxvii + 237 pp. $25.00.)

Former Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall debunks the highly popularized "Wild West" theme as portrayed in movies and pulp novels and writes that the West was settled by unheralded ordinary people. Udall draws upon his own heritage and his extensive knowledge of the American West to state his case. Of particular interest to Utah readers is chapter two "European Settlers" where he discusses his Mormon ancestors and "One of the most abhorrent episodes in the annals of western history" (63), the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The common ordinary families and their values from numerous backgrounds and religious faiths settled and developed the west along with Native peoples, Udall concludes. Their lot was "amity, not conquest; stability, not strife; conservation, not waste; restraint, not aggression" (xvii).

The Utah State Historical Society was organized in 1897 by public-spirited Utahns to collect, preserve, and publish Utah and related history. Today, under state sponsorship, the Society fulfills its obligations by publishing the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and other historical materials; collecting historic Utah artifacts; locating, documenting, and preserving historic and prehistoric buildings and sites; and maintaining a specialized research library. Donations and gifts to the Society's programs, museum, or its library are encouraged, for only through such means can it live up to its responsibility of preserving the record of Utah's past.

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